RELIGIO MEDICI.

BY

Sir THO. BROWNE, Knt. M. D.

With the LIFE of the AUTHOR.

To which is added,

Sir *KENELM DIGBY's*

OBSERVATIONS.

ALSO

CRITICAL NOTES

UPON

All the OBSCURE PASSAGES therein, never before publiſhed.

The TENTH EDITION carefully corrected.

EDINBURGH:
Printed by W. RUDDIMAN *jun.* and COMPANY;
and ſold by the Bookſellers in Town.
M.DCC.LIV.

BRITISH MUSEUM

A

LETTER

From the AUTHOR,

To Sir *KENELM DIGBY*,

Upon the information of animadverſions *to come forth, upon the imperfect and ſurreptitious copy of* Religio Medici, *whilſt this true one was going to preſs.*

HONOURED SIR,

GIVE your ſervant, who hath ever honoured you, leave to take notice of a book at preſent in the preſs, intitled, (as I am inform'd) *Animadverſions* upon a treatiſe lately printed, under the name of

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Religio Medici; hereof, I am advertiſed, you have condeſcended to be the author. Worthy Sir, permit your ſervant to affirm there is contained therein nothing that can deſerve the reaſon of your contradictions, much leſs the candour of your *animadverſions*: and to certify the truth thereof, that book (whereof I do acknowledge myſelf the author) was penned many years paſt; and (what cannot eſcape your apprehenſion) with no intention for the preſs, or the leaſt deſire to oblige the faith of any man to its aſſertions. But what hath more eſpecially emboldened my pen unto you at preſent is, that the ſame piece, contrived in my private ſtudy, and as an exerciſe unto myſelf rather than an exercitation for any other, having paſt from my

hand

hand under a broken and imperfect copy, by frequent tranſcription it ſtill run forward into corruption, and after the addition of ſome things, omiſſion of others, and tranſpoſition of many, without my aſſent or privacy, the liberty of theſe times committed it unto the preſs; whence it iſſued ſo diſguiſed, that the author without diſtinction could not acknowledge it. Having thus miſcarried, within a few weeks I ſhall, God willing, deliver unto the preſs the true and intended original, whereof, in the mean time, your worthy ſelf may command a view; ſo that, when ever that copy ſhall be extant, it will moſt clearly appear how far the text hath been miſtaken, and all obſervations, gloſſes, or exercitations thereon, will, in a great part,

part, impugn the printer, or tranſcriber, rather than the author. If, after that, you ſhall eſteem it worth your vacant hours to diſcourſe thereon, you ſhall but take that liberty which I aſſume myſelf, that is, freely to abound in your ſenſe as I have done in my own. However you ſhall determine, you ſhall ſufficiently honour me in the vouchſafe of your refute, and I oblige the whole world in the occaſion of your pen.

Norwich,
March 3. 1642.

Your Servant,

T. B.

Sir

Sir KENELM DIGBY's answer to the foregoing letter.

WORTHY SIR,

SPeedily, upon the receipt of your letter of the third current, I ſent to find out the printer that Mr. Crook *(who delivered me yours) told me was printing ſomething, under my name, concerning your treatiſe of* Religio Medici, *and to forbid him any further proceeding therein; but my ſervant could not meet with him: whereupon I have left with* Mr. Crook *a note to that purpoſe, entreating him to deliver it to the printer. I verily believe there is ſome miſtake in the information given you, and that what is printing muſt be from ſome other pen than mine; for ſuch reflexions as I made upon your learned and ingenious diſcourſe, are ſo far from meriting the*

preſs,

preſs, that they can tempt no body to a ſerious reading of them; they were notes haſtily ſet down, as I ſuddenly ran over your excellent piece, which is of weighty ſubject, and ſo ſtrongly penned, as requireth much time, and ſharp attention but to comprehend it; whereas what I wrote was the employment but of one ſitting: and there was not twenty four hours between my receiving my Lord of Dorſet's *letter that occaſioned what I ſaid, and the finiſhing my anſwer to him; and yet part of that time was taken up in procuring your book, which he deſired me to read and give him an account of; for till then I was ſo unhappy as never to have heard of that worthy diſcourſe. If that letter ever come to your view, you will ſee the high value I ſet upon your great parts: and if it ſhould be thought I have been ſomething too bold*

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in differing from your ſenſe, I hope I ſhall eaſily obtain pardon, when it ſhall be conſidered, that his Lordſhip aſſigned it to me as an exercitation, to oppoſe in it, for entertainment, ſuch paſſages as I might judge capable thereof; wherein what liberty I took is to be attributed to the ſecurity of a private letter, and to my not knowing (nor my Lord) the perſon whom it concerned.

But, Sir, now that I am ſo happy as to have that knowledge, I dare aſſure you, that nothing ſhall ever iſſue from me but ſavouring of all honour, eſteem and reverence both to yourſelf and that worthy production of yours. If I had the vanity to give myſelf reputation by entering the liſts in publick with ſo eminent and learned a man as you are, yet I know right well, I am no ways able to do it; it would be a

very unequal progreſs: I pretend not to learning; thoſe ſlender notions I have, are but disjointed pieces I have by chance gleaned up here and there. To encounter ſuch a ſinewy oppoſite, or make animadverſions upon ſo ſmart a piece as yours is, requireth a more ſolid ſtock and exerciſe in ſchool-learning. My ſuperficial beſprinkling will ſerve only for a private letter, or a familiar diſcourſe with lady-auditors. With longing I expect the coming abroad of the true copy of that book, whoſe falſe and ſtolen one hath already given me ſo much delight. And ſo aſſuring you I ſhall deem it a great good fortune to deſerve your favour and friendſhip, I kiſs your hand and reſt,

Your moſt humble ſervant,

KENELM DIGBY.

Wincheſter-houſe, March 20. 1642.

TO

TO THE READER.

CERTAINLY that man would be greedy of life, who ſhould deſire to live when all the world was at an end; and he muſt needs be very impatient, who would repine at death in the ſociety of all things that ſuffer under it. Had not almoſt every man ſuffered by the preſs, or were not the tyranny thereof become univerſal, I had not wanted reaſon for complaint: but in times wherein I have lived to behold the higheſt perverſion of that excellent invention, the name of his Majeſty defamed, the honour of parliament depra- the writings of both depraved, ly, anticipatively, and counterfeit-

ly

ly imprinted, complaints may ſeem ridiculous in private perſons; and men of my condition may be as incapable of affronts, as hopeleſs of their reparations. And truly had not the duty I owe unto the importunity of friends, and the allegiance I muſt ever acknowledge unto truth, prevailed with me; the inactivity of my diſpoſition might have made theſe ſufferings continual, and time that brings other things to light, ſhould have ſatisfied me in the remedy of its oblivion. But becauſe things evidently falſe are not only printed, but many things of truth moſt falſely ſet forth, in the latter I could not but think myſelf engaged: For tho' we have no power to redreſs the former, yet in the other, reparation being within our ſelves,

ſelves, I have at preſent repreſented unto the world a full and intended copy of that piece, which was moſt imperfectly and ſurreptitiouſly publiſhed before.

This I confeſs, about ſeven years paſt, with ſome others of affinity thereto, for my private exerciſe and ſatisfaction, I had at leiſure hours compoſed; which being communicated unto one, it became common unto many, and was by tranſcription ſucceſſively corrupted, until it arrived in a moſt depraved copy at the preſs. He that ſhall peruſe that work, and ſhall take notice of ſundry particulars and perſonal expreſſions therein, will eaſily decern the intention was not publick: and being a private exerciſe directed to myſelf, what is delivered therein was rather

ther a memorial unto me, than an example or rule unto any other: and therefore, if there be any ſingularity therein correſpondent unto the private conceptions of any man, it doth not advantage them; or if diſſentaneous thereunto, it no way overthrows them. It was penned in ſuch a place, and with ſuch diſadvantage, that, I proteſt, from the firſt ſetting of pen unto paper, I had not the aſſiſtance of any good book, whereby to promote my invention, or relieve my memory; and therefore there might be many real lapſes therein, which others might take notice of, and more that I ſuſpected myſelf. It was ſet down many years paſt, and was the ſenſe of my conception at that time, not an immutable law unto my advancing judg-

judgment at all times; and therefore there might be many things therein plauſible unto my paſt apprehenſion, which are not agreeable unto my preſent ſelf. There are many things delivered rhetorically, many expreſſions therein meerly tropical, and as they beſt illuſtrate my intention; and therefore alſo there are many things to be taken in a ſoft and flexible ſenſe, and not to be called unto the rigid teſt of reaſon. Laſtly, All that is contained therein, is in ſubmiſſion to matuter diſcernments; and, as I have declared, I ſhall no further father them than the beſt and learned judgments ſhall authorize them: under favour of which conſiderations I have made its ſecrecy publick, and committed the truth thereof to every ingenuous reader.

THO. BROWNE.

THE LIFE OF Sir THO. BROWNE, Knt.

SIR THOMAS was the eldeſt ſon of Mr. THOMAS BROWNE, merchant, deſcended from an ancient family at Upton in Cheſhire, and was born in the pariſh of St. Michael's, Cheapſide, London, the 19th of October, 1605. His father dying when he was very young, left him a handſome fortune, but his mother marrying ſoon after to Sir Thomas Dutton, he was left entirely to the care of his guardians, one of whom had the villainy to defraud him of a great part of his fortune. They ſent him however to be educated at Wakeham's grammar-ſchool, near Wincheſter, and in the year 1623 he was entered a commoner at Broadgates-hall, now called Pembroke-college, in the univerſity of Oxford. January the 31ſt, 1626, he took the degrees of batchelor of arts, and afterwards that of maſter, entered on the phyſick line, and practiſed that faculty in Oxfordſhire for ſome time.

He travelled afterwards into foreign countries, lived at Montpelier, Padua and Leyden, where he was made doctor of phyſick, and

and, upon his return to England, took his degree of doctor at the univerſity of Oxford, July the 10th, 1637; about which time, by the perſuaſion of his tutor, Mr. Thomas Luſhington, he removed to Norwich, where he practiſed phyſick with the greateſt reputation and ſucceſs.

The honour he had acquired by his excellent writings, not only gained him the eſteem of his own countrymen who were famous for learning, but likewiſe thoſe of foreign nations, with whom he correſponded, and who frequently applied to him for his opinion in ſome nice points of learning; amongſt theſe were Gruter, Windet, Theodore Jones of Ireland, *&c.* He was likewiſe peculiarly ſerviceable to Sir William Dugdale, in his hiſtory of imbanking and draining of divers fens and marſhes, *&c.* publiſhed in the year 1662. Neither was the honour of his practice confined to the narrow limits of the city where he lived, but gained him ſo general a reputation, that the college of phyſicians of the city of London complimented him with a *Diploma*, and, in honour to his memory, his picture is to be ſeen at this day in their college. About the latter end of September, 1671, King Charles II. being at Norwich, conferred the honour of knighthood upon him, with ſpecial aſſurances of his royal favour.

But to come to his writings. In the year 1642, he publiſhed this excellent treatiſe, intitled,

intitled, RELIGIO MEDICI, which he was obliged to upon account of a ſpurious copy ſent to the preſs, and in his preface greatly complains of the errors of that copy.

In the year 1643, a tract was publiſhed, intitled, 'Obſervations upon RELIGIO MEDICI, occaſionally written by Sir Kenelm 'Digby, Knt.' Another edition of which was printed at London in 1644. The general commendation Sir Kenelm gives of this curious piece, may be ſeen in his obſervations here bound together with the original work.

In the year 1645, an anſwer to RELIGIO MEDICI was publiſhed by Alexander Roſs, under the title of *Medicus medicatus*: or, 'The phyſician's religion cured by a 'nitive or gentle potion,' *&c.* But this met with a very indifferent reception from the publick. About the ſame time annotations upon the moſt obſcure paſſages therein were publiſhed by an unknown hand, and not long after, the RELIGIO MEDICI was tranſlated into latin by Mr. John Merryweather, maſter of arts, of Magdalen-college in Cambridge, who, from the different ſentiments entertained abroad of his book, met with ſome difficulty to have his tranſlation printed at Leyden in Holland, three ſeveral bookſellers or printers, Haye, de Vogel, and Chriſtian refuſing it; but was at length printed by Hackius, who undertook it after two days deliberation. The tranſlator

ſlator had the ſatisfaction to find his verſion re-printed at Strasburg in 1652, with Latin annotations, by Levinius Nicolaus Moltkius, a German, who informs us, in his preface, that the book itſelf, which is tranſlated into French, Italian, German, Dutch, *&c.* has been much admired by the learned and curious. All theſe particulars ſhew in what eſteem this book was, by the deſire every nation had to read it in their own language. The authors of the *acta eruditorum*, in the firſt volume of their ſupplement, publiſhed at Leipſick in 1692, paſs this judgment upon it, 'That it is full of excellent precepts, 'among which are inſerted ſome paradoxes.'

Beſides the RELIGIO MEDICI, our author publiſhed another book at London, *anno* 1646, intitled, PSEUDODOXIA EPIDEMICA; or, 'Enquiries into very many re-'ceived tenets, and commonly preſumed 'truths;' or, 'Enquiries into common and 'vulgar errors:' The ſixth edition whereof in 1673 was enlarged by the author, with many explanations and alterations. Father Niceron in his memoirs, *Pour ſervir a l'hiſtoire des hommes illuſtres*, gives this character of it, that it is an excellent work, and contains a variety of curious obſervations. A tranſlation of it was publiſhed in High-dutch, *anno* 1680, by Chriſtian Nor, Baron of Roſeuroth, under the name of Chriſtopher Paganius. Alexander Roſs finding that no notice was taken of his remarks upon

RELIGIO

RELIGIO MEDICI, publiſhed others equally trifling upon the PSEUDODOXIA EPIDEMICA, under the title of *Arcana microcoſmi*; or, 'The hidden ſecrets of man's body diſ-'covered,' *anno* 1652. This book was likewiſe anſwered by Dr. John Robinſon a phyſician, *anno* 1656, in a tract intitled, *Eudoxa, ſeu queſtionum quarundam miſcellanearum examen probabile*; which met with the ſame fate as that of Alexander Roſs.

In the year 1658, our author publiſhed another treatiſe, intitled, HYDRIOTAPHIA; or, 'A diſcourſe of ſepulchral urns, lately 'found in Norfolk.' Wherein he gives an account of the manner of burning dead bodies among the Romans, Britains, Saxons and Danes, together with the garden of Cyrus, or the quincuncial lozenge, or network plantations of the ancients, artificially, naturally, and myſtically conſidered, with ſundry obſervations.

Another book was likewiſe publiſhed, *anno* 1657, under our author's name, intitled, 'Nature's cabinet unlock'd, wherein is diſ-'covered the natural cauſes of metals, ſtones, 'precious earths,' *&c.*

The following is Dr. Wood's character of it; 'A dull worthleſs thing, ſtole for the 'moſt part from the phyſicks of Magirus 'by a very ignorant perſon, a plagiary ſo ig-'norant and unſkilful, that not diſtinguiſh-'ing *lævis* and *levis* in the ſaid Magirus, he 'hath told us of the liver, that one part of 'it

'it is gibbous, and the other light; and yet 'had the confidence to call this ſcribble, 'Nature's cabinet unlocked; an arrogant 'and fanciful title, of which our author's 'true humility would no more have ſuffer-'ed him to be father, than his great learn-'ing could have permitted him to have 'been the author of the ſaid book.'

Beſides thoſe publiſhed by himſelf, three others have been printed ſince his death. Firſt his miſcellany tracts, publiſhed from our author's manuſcripts, by Dr. Thomas Teniſon, late archbiſhop of Canterbury; containing, 1. Obſervations upon ſeveral plants mentioned in ſcripture. 2. Of garlands, and coronary or garden plants. 3. Of the fiſhes eaten by our ſaviour with his diſciples after his reſurrection. 4. An anſwer to certain queries relating to fiſhes, birds and inſects. 5. Of hawks and faulconry, ancient and modern. 6. Of cymbals and other muſical inſtruments. 7. Of ropalick, or gradual verſes. 8. Of languages, particularly the Saxon. 9. Of artificial hills, mounts and boroughs in many parts of England: what they are, to what end raiſed, and by what nations. 10. Of Troas, what place is meant by that name; alſo the ſituation of Sodom, Gomorrah, Zeboim in the dead ſea. 11. Of the anſwers of the oracle of Apollo at Delphos to Crœſus king of Lydia. 12. A propheey concerning the future ſtate of ſeveral nations. 13. *Muſæ-*

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um clauſum; or, *Bibliotheca abſcondita*; containing ſome remarkable books, antiquities, pictures, and raritics of ſeveral kinds, ſcarce ever ſeen by any man now living.

The ſecond was printed in the year 1716, intitled, Chriſtian morals, by Sir Thomas Browne of Norwich, M.D. and author of the RELIGIO MEDICI, publiſhed from the original and correct manuſcript of the author, by John Jeffery, D.D. archdeacon of Norwich. The third poſthumous work of his is a collection of pieces, containing 1. *Repertorium*; or, The antiquities of the cathedral church of Norwich, 1680. 2. Some letters which paſſed between Mr. Dugdale and Dr. Browne, *anno* 1658. 3. An account of Ireland, *anno* 1662. 4. Concerning ſome urns found in Brampton-field in Norfolk, *anno* 1667. 5. Againſt the too nice curioſity of cenſuring the preſent, or judging into future diſpenſations. 6. Upon reading Hudibras. 7. A letter to a friend upon the death of his intimate friend.

He wrote a treatiſe likewiſe, intitled, *De lucis cauſa & origine*, in a letter to Iſaac Voſſius, with whom he had a diſpute upon that ſubject; printed at Amſterdam in 1663. and criticiſed on Voſſius's work, *de natura & proprietate lucis*, wherein he ſtrongly maintains *Des Cartes* hypotheſis. He alſo wrote an apology for the Carteſian philoſophy, in oppoſition to a divine named Vogelſang.

Thus

Thus much for our author's writings. I come now to the character of his perſon. His complexion and hair was brown, his ſtature moderate, and habit of body neither fat or lean. His manner of cloathing plain and unaffected. He was well ſkilled in Aſtronomy, Geography, Geometry, Natural Hiſtory and Botany; and had ſo excellent a memory, that he not only remembred what was moſt remarkable in the books he read, and knew thoſe perſons he had once ſeen, at any diſtance of time; but the particulars of their converſation. In the latin poets he remembred all that was moſt acute and pungent, and his obſervations upon hiſtory, both ancient and modern, were ſingular, and ſuch as are not made by ordinary readers. He was ſo much maſter over his paſſions, as always to make them controulable by his reaſon; was never ſeen tranſported with mirth, or dejected with ſorrow; always chearful, but rarely merry, and ſeldom heard to break a jeſt without being apt to bluſh at the levity of it. Thoſe who knew him only by his writings, found themſelves deceived in their expectation when they came into his company, from the gravity of his aſpect and converſation; for he was ſo far from being loquacious, that it was difficult to engage him in any diſcourſe, tho', when once engaged it, he was ſingular and uncommon. He was very careful to improve his time, and ſo impatient

of

of ſloth and idleneſs, that he would often ſay, he could not do nothing. Sir Thomas underſtood moſt of the European languages, *viz.* all contained in Hutter's bible; the Greek and Latin he underſtood critically. As to his religion, tho' the gentlemen of his faculty have fallen under the diſgrace of having very little; yet he has declared himſelf in his RELIGIO MEDICI to be a ſteadfaſt member of the church of England, preferring its doctrine before any in the world; and for this reaſon he ſays himſelf, 'Becauſe 'every part of it ſquares unto his conſci-'ence, and its articles, conſtitutions and cu-'ſtoms ſeem ſo conſonant to reaſon,' *&c.* He was a man of exemplary patience, which was founded upon true Chriſtian philoſophy, and an humble ſubmiſſion to the providence of God, which he ſhewed to the day of his death. He died at Norwich on the 19th of October, (the day of his birth) *anno* 1682, in the ſeventy ſeventh year of his age, and was buried in the church of St. Peter's Mancroft, at Norwich, where there is a mural monument erected to his memory, fixed to the South pillar of the altar.

RELI-

RELIGIO MEDICI.

SECTION I.

FOR my religion, though there be ſeveral circumſtances that might perſuade the world I have none at all, as the * general ſcandal of my profeſſion, the † natural courſe of my ſtudies, the ‡ indifferency of my behaviour, and diſcourſe in matters of religion, neither violently defending one, nor with that common ardour and contention oppoſing another; yet, in deſpite hereof, I dare, without uſurpation, aſſume the honourable ſtile of a Chriſtian: ‖ not that I meerly owe this title to the font, my education, or clime wherein I was born, as being bred up either to confirm thoſe principles my parents

rents inſtilled into my unwary underſtanding, or, by a general conſent, proceed in the religion of my country: but having, in my riper years and confirmed judgment, ſeen and examined all, I find myſelf obliged by the principles of grace, and the law of mine own reaſon, to embrace no other name but this: neither doth herein my zeal ſo far make me forget the general charity I owe unto humanity, as rather to hate than pity Turks, Infidels, and (what is worſe) Jews; rather contenting myſelf to enjoy that happy ſtile, than maligning thoſe who refuſe ſo glorious a title.

SECT. II.

But becauſe the name of a Chriſtian is become too general to expreſs our faith,* there being a geography of religions as well as lands, and every clime diſtinguiſhed not only by their laws and limits, but cir-

circumſcribed by their doctrines and rules of faith; to be particular, I am of that reformed new-caſt religion, * wherein I diſlike nothing but the name; of the ſame belief our Saviour taught, the apoſtles diſſeminated, the fathers authoriſed, and the martyrs confirmed; but by the ſiniſter ends of princes, the ambition and avarice of prelates, and the fatal corruption of times, ſo decayed, impaired, and fallen from its native beauty, that it required the careful and charitable hand of theſe times to reſtore it to its primitive integrity. † Now the accidental occaſion whereon, the ſlender means whereby, the low and abject condition of the perſon by whom, ſo good a work was ſet on foot, which in our adverſaries beget contempt and ſcorn, fill me with wonder, and is the very ſame objection the inſolent Pagans firſt caſt at Chriſt and his diſciples.

SECT.

SECT. III.

Yet have I not ſo * ſhaken hands with thoſe deſperate reſolutions, who had rather venture at large their decayed bottom, then bring her in to be new trimed in the dock; who had rather promiſcuouſly retain all, than abridge any, and obſtinately be what they are, than what they have been, as to ſtand in diameter, and ſwords point with them: we have reformed from them, not againſt them; for omitting thoſe improprieties and terms of ſcurrility betwixt us, which only difference our affections, and not our cauſe, there is between us one common name and appellation, one faith, and neceſſary body of principles common to us both; and therefore I am not ſcrupulous to converſe and live with them, to enter their churches in defect of ours, and either pray with them, or for them: I could never perceive

ceive any rational conſequence from thoſe many texts which prohibit the children of Iſrael to pollute themſelves with the temples of the heathens; we being all chriſtians, and not divided by ſuch deteſted impieties as might profane our prayers, or the place wherein we make them; or that a reſolved conſcience may not adore her Creator any where, eſpecially in places devoted to his ſervice; where, if their devotions offend him, mine may pleaſe him, if theirs profane it, mine may hallow it; holy water and crucifix (dangerous to the common people) deceive not my Judgment, nor abuſe my devotion at all: I am, I confeſs, naturally inclined to that, which miſguided zeal terms ſuperſtition; my common converſation I do acknowledge auſtere, my behaviour full of rigour, ſometimes not without moroſity; yet at my devotion I love to uſe the civility of

of my knee, my hat, and hand, with all thoſe outward and ſenſible motions, which may expreſs, or promote my inviſible devotion. I ſhould violate my own arm rather than a church, nor willingly deface the name of ſaint or martyr. At the ſight of a croſs or crucifix I can diſpenſe with my hat, but ſcarce with the thought or memory of my Saviour; I cannot laugh at, but rather pity the fruitleſs journeys of pilgrims, or contemn the miſerable condition of Friars; for though miſplaced in circumſtances, there is ſomething in it of devotion: I could never hear the [a] *Ave Marie* Bell without an elevation, or think it a ſufficient warrant, becauſe they erred in one circumſtance, for me to err in all, that is in ſilence and dumb

[a] A church-bell that tolls every day at 6. and 12. of the clock, at the hearing whereof every one in what place ſoever either of houſe or ſtreet betakes him to his prayer, which is commonly directed to the Virgin.

dumb contempt; whilſt therefore they directed their devotions to her, I offered mine to God, and rectified the errors of their prayers by rightly ordering mine own: at a ſolemn proceſſion I have wept abundantly, while my conſorts, blind with oppoſition and prejudice, have fallen into an exceſs of ſcorn and laughter: there are queſtionleſs both in Greek, Roman, and African churches, ſolemnities and ceremonies, whereof the wiſer zealots do make a chriſtian uſe; and ſtand condemned by us, not as evil in themſelves, but as allurements and baits of ſuperſtition to thoſe vulgar heads that look aſquint on the face of truth, and thoſe unſtable judgments that cannot conſiſt in the narrow point and center of virtue, without a reel or ſtagger to the circumference.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

As there were many reformers, ſo likewiſe many reformations; every country proceeding in a particular way and method, according as their national intereſt, together with their conſtitution and clime, inclined them; ſome angrily and with extremity; others calmly and with mediocrity, not rending, but eaſily dividing the community, and leaving an honeſt poſſibility of a reconciliation; which though peaceable ſpirits do deſire, and may conceive that revolution of time and the mercies of God may effect; yet that judgment that ſhall conſider the preſent antipathies between the two extreams, their contrarieties in condition, affection and opinion, may with the ſame hopes expect an union in the poles of heaven.

SECT. V.

But to difference myſelf nearer, and draw into a leſſer circle: there is no church whoſe every part ſo ſquares unto my conſcience, whoſe articles, conſtitutions, and cuſtoms ſeem ſo conſonant unto reaſon, and as it were framed to my particular devotion, as this whereof I hold my belief, the church of England; to whoſe faith I am a ſworn ſubject, and therefore, in a double obligation, ſubſcribe unto her articles, and endeavour to obſerve her conſtitutions: whatſoever is beyond, as points indifferent, I obſerve according to the rules of my private reaſon, or the humour and faſhion of my devotion; neither believing this, becauſe Luther affirmed it, or diſapproving that, becauſe Calvin hath diſavowed it. I condemn not all things in the council of Trent, nor approve all in the ſynod of Dort: in brief, where the ſcripture is ſi-

lent, the church is my text; where that ſpeaks, 'tis but my comment; where there is a joint ſilence of both, I borrow not the rules of my religion from Rome or Geneva, but the dictates of my own reaſon. It is an unjuſt ſcandal of our adverſaries, and a groſs error in our ſelves, to compute the nativity of our religion from * Henry the eight, who, though he rejected the Pope, refus'd not the faith of Rome, and effected no more than what his own predeceſſors deſired and aſſayed in ages paſt, and was conceived the ſtate of † Venice would have attempted in our days. It is as uncharitable a point in us to fall upon thoſe popular ſcurrilities and opprobrious ſcoffs of the Biſhop of Rome, to whom, as a temporal Prince, we owe the duty of good language: I confeſs there is cauſe of paſſion between us; by his ſentence I ſtand excommunicated, Heretick is the beſt language he af-

fords

fords me; yet can no ear witneſs I ever returned him the name of Antichriſt, Man of Sin, or Whore of Babylon. It is the method of charity to ſuffer without reaction: thoſe uſual ſatyrs, and invectives of the pulpit, may perchance produce a good effect on the vulgar, whoſe ears are opener to rhetorick then logick; yet do they in no wiſe confirm the faith of wiſer believers, who know that a good cauſe needs not to be patronized by a paſſion, but can ſuſtain it ſelf upon a temperate diſpute.

SECT. VI.

I could never divide myſelf from any man upon the difference of an opinion, * or be angry with his judgment for not agreeing with me in that, from which perhaps within a few days I ſhould diſſent myſelf: I have no genius to diſputes in religion, and have often thought it wiſdom to decline them, eſpecially upon

upon a diſadvantage, or when the cauſe of truth might ſuffer in the weakneſs of my patronage: where we deſire to be informed, 'tis good to conteſt with men above ourſelves; but to confirm and eſtabliſh our opinions, 'tis beſt to argue with judgments below our own; that the frequent ſpoils and victories over their reaſons may ſettle in ourſelves an eſteem, and confirmed opinion of our own. * Every man is not a proper champion for truth, nor fit to take up the gantlet in the cauſe of verity: many from the ignorance of theſe maxims, and an inconſiderate zeal unto truth, have too raſhly charged the troops of error, and remain as trophies unto the enemies of truth: a man may be in as juſt poſſeſſion of truth as of a city, and yet be forced to ſurrender; 'tis therefore far better to enjoy her with peace, then to hazard her on a battle: if therefore, there

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ariſe any doubts in my way, I do forget them, or at leaſt defer them, till my better ſettled judgment, and more manly reaſon be able to reſolve them; for I perceive every mans own reaſon is his beſt *Oedipus*, and will, upon a reaſonable truce, find a way to looſe thoſe bonds, wherewith the ſubtilties of error have enchained our more flexible and tender judgments. In philoſophy, where truth ſeems double-faced, there is no man more paradoxical then myſelf; but in divinity I love to keep the road, and though not in an implicit, yet in an humble faith, follow the great wheel of the church, by which I move, not reſerving any proper poles or motion from the epicycle of my own brain; by this means I leave no gap for hereſies, ſchiſms, or errors, of which at preſent, I hope I ſhall not injure truth to ſay, I have no taint

or

or tincture; I muſt confeſs my greener ſtudies have been polluted with two or three; not any begotten in the later centuries, but old and obſolete; ſuch as could never have been revived, but by ſuch extravagant and irregular heads as mine; *for indeed hereſies periſh not with their authors, but like the river † Arethuſa, though they loſe their currents in one place, they riſe up again in another: one general council is not able to extirpate one ſingle hereſy; it may be cancelled for the preſent, but revolution of time, and the like aſpects from Heaven, will reſtore it, when it will flouriſh till it be condemned again; for as though there were a *Metempſychoſis*, and the ſoul of one man paſſed into another, opinions do find, after certain revolutions, men and minds like thoſe that firſt begat them. To ſee ourſelves again we need not look for

[a] Plato's

[a] Plato's year; every man is not only himſelf; there have been many Diogenes's, and as many Timons, tho' but few of that name; men are lived over again, the world is now as it was in ages paſt, there was none then, but there hath been ſome one ſince that parallels him, and is as it were his revived ſelf.

SECT. VII.

*Now the firſt of mine was that of the Arabians, that the ſouls of men periſhed with their bodies, but ſhould yet be raiſed again at the laſt day; not that I did abſolutely conceive a mortality of the ſoul; but if that were, which faith, not philoſophy, hath yet throughly diſproved, and that both entered the grave together; yet I held the ſame conceit thereof that we all do of the body,

[a] A revolution of certain thouſand years, when all things ſhould return unto their former eſtate, and he be teaching again i his ſchool as when he delivered this opinion.

dy, that it ſhould riſe again. Surely it is but the merits of our unworthy natures, if we ſleep in darkneſs until the laſt alarm: a ſerious reflex upon my own unworthineſs did make me backward from challenging this prerogative of my ſoul; ſo I might enjoy my Saviour at the laſt, I could with patience be nothing almoſt unto eternity. The ſecond was that of Origen, that God would not perſiſt in his vengeance for ever, but after a definite time of his wrath he would releaſe the damned ſouls from torture; which error I fell into, upon a ſerious contemplation of the great attribute of God's mercy; and did a little cheriſh it in myſelf, becauſe I found therein no malice, and a ready weight to ſway me from the other extream of diſpair, whereunto melancholy and contemplative natures are too eaſily diſpoſed. A third there is, which I did never poſitively maintain

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or practiſe, but have often wiſhed it had been conſonant to truth, and not offenſive to my religion, and that is the prayer for the dead; whereunto I was inclined from ſome charitable inducements, whereby I could ſcarce reſtrain my prayers for a friend at the ringing of a bell, or behold his corps without an oraiſon for his ſoul; it was a good way methought to be remembred by poſterity, and far more noble than an hiſtory. Theſe opinions I never maintained with pertinacity, or endeavoured to inveigle any man's belief unto mine, nor ſo much as ever revealed or diſputed them with my deareſt friends; by which means I neither propagated them in others, nor confirmed them in myſelf, but ſuffering them to flame upon their own ſubſtance, without addition of new fuel, they went out inſenſibly of themſelves; therefore * theſe opinions, though condemned by lawful councils,

were not hereſies in me, but bare errors, and ſingle lapſes of my underſtanding, without a joint depravity of my will: thoſe have not only depraved underſtandings, but diſeaſed affections, who cannot enjoy a ſingularity without a hereſy, or be the author of an opinion, without they be that of a ſect alſo; this was the villainy of the firſt ſchiſm of *Lucifer*, who was not content to err alone, but drew into his faction many legions of ſpirits; and upon this experience he tempted only *Eve*, as well underſtanding the communicable nature of ſin, and that to deceive but one, was tacitly and upon conſequence to delude them both.

SECT. VIII.

That hereſies ſhould ariſe we have the prophecy of Chriſt; but that old ones ſhould be aboliſhed we hold no prediction. That there muſt be hereſies,

hereſies is true, not only in our church, but alſo in any other: even in doctrines heretical there will be ſuper-hereſies, and Arians not only divided from their church, but alſo among themſelves; for heads that are diſpoſed unto ſchiſm, and complexionally propenſe to innovation, are naturally diſpoſed for a community, nor will ever be confined unto the order or œconomy of one body; and therefore when they ſeparate from others, they knit but looſely among themſelves; nor contented with a general breach or dichotomy with their church, do ſubdivide and mince themſelves almoſt into atoms. 'Tis true, that men of ſingular parts and humours have not been free from ſingular opinions and conceits in all ages; retaining ſomething not only beſide the opinion of his own church or any other, but alſo any particular author; which notwithſtanding a ſober

ſober judgment may do without offence or hereſy: for there is yet, after all the decrees of councils and the niceties of the ſchools, many things untouched, unimagined, wherein the liberty of an honeſt reaſon may play and expatiate with ſecurity, and far without the circle of an hereſy.

SECT. IX.

As for thoſe winged myſteries in divinity, and airy ſubtilties in religion, which have unhinged the brains of better heads, they never ſtretched the *Pia Mater* of mine; methinks there are not impoſſibilities enough in religion for an active faith; the deepeſt myſteries ours contains have not only been illuſtrated, but maintained by ſyllogiſm, and the rule of reaſon: I love to loſe myſelf in a myſtery, to purſue my reaſon to an *O altitudo*. 'Tis my ſolitary recreation to poſe my apprehenſion

prehenſion with thoſe involved ænigmas and riddles of the Trinity, with incarnation and reſurection. I can anſwer all the objections of ſatan, and my rebellious reaſon, with that odd reſolution I learned of *Tertullian*, *Certum eſt quia impoſſibile eſt*. I deſire to exerciſe my faith in the difficulteſt point; for to credit ordinary and viſible objects is not faith, but perſuaſion. Some believe the better for ſeeing Chriſt's ſepulchre, and when they have ſeen the red ſea, doubt not of the miracle.. Now on the contrary I bleſs myſelf, and am thankful that I lived not in the days of miracles, that I never ſaw Chriſt nor his diſciples; I would not have been one of thoſe Iſraelites that paſſed the red ſea, nor one of Chriſt's patients, on whom he wrought his wonders; then had my faith been thruſt upon me, nor ſhould I enjoy that greater bleſſing pronounced to all that believe

lieve and ſaw not. 'Tis an eaſy and neceſſary belief to credit what our eye and ſenſe hath examined: I believe he was dead, and buried, and roſe again; and deſire to ſee him in his glory, rather than to contemplate him in his cenotaphe, or ſepulchre. Nor is this much to believe; as we have reaſon, we owe this faith unto hiſtory: they only had the advantage of a bold and noble faith, who lived before his coming, who, upon obſcure prophecies and myſtical types, could raiſe a belief, and expect apparent impoſſibilities.

SECT. X.

'Tis true, there is an edge in all firm belief, and with an eaſy metaphor we may ſay the ſword of faith; but in theſe obſcurities I rather uſe it in the adjunct the Apoſtle gives it, a buckler; under which I conceive a wary combatant may

may ly invulnerable. Since I was of underſtanding to know we knew nothing, my reaſon hath been more pliable to the will of faith; I am now content to underſtand a myſtery, without a rigid definition, in an eaſy and platonick deſcription. That allegorical deſcription of *Hermes* [a], pleaſeth me beyond all the metaphyſical definitions of divines; where I cannot ſatisfy my reaſon, I love to humour my fancy; * I'd as ſoon chuſe you would tell me that *anima eſt angelus hominis, eſt corpus Dei*, as *Entelechia; Lux eſt umbra Dei*, as *actus perſpicui*: where there is an obſcurity too deep for our reaſon, 'tis good to ſit down with a deſcription, periphraſis, or adumbration; for by acquainting our reaſon how unable it is to diſplay the viſible and obvious effects of nature, it becomes more humble and ſubmiſſive unto the

[a] *Sphæra cujus centrum ubique, circumferentia nullibi.*

the ſubtilties of faith: and thus I teach my haggard and unreclaimed reaſon to ſtoop unto the lure of faith. I believe there was already a tree whoſe fruit our unhappy parents taſted, though in the ſame chapter, when God forbids it, 'tis poſitively ſaid, the plants of the field were not yet grown; for God had not cauſed it to rain upon the earth. *I believe that the ſerpent, (if we ſhall literally underſtand it) from his proper form and figure, made his motion on his belly before the curſe. I find the trial of the pucellage and virginity of women, which God ordained the Jews, is very fallible. experience and hiſtory informs me, that not only many particular women, †but likewiſe whole nations have eſcaped the curſe of childbirth, which God ſeems to pronounce upon the whole Sex; yet do I believe that all this is true, which indeed my reaſon would perſuade

ſwade me to be falſe; and this I think is no vulgar part of faith to believe a thing not only above, but contrary to reaſon, and againſt the arguments of our proper ſenſes.

SECT. XI.

In my ſolitary and retired imagination,

— *Neque enim, cum porticus, aut me lectulus accepit, deſum mihi.*—

I remember I am not alone, and therefore forget not to contemplate him and his attributes who is ever with me, eſpecially thoſe two mighty ones, his wiſdom and eternity; with the one I recreate, with the other I confound my underſtanding: for * who can ſpeak of eternity without a ſoleciſm, or think thereof without an extaſie? time we may comprehend; 'tis but five days older then ourſelves, and hath the ſame Horoſcope with the world: but to retire ſo far back as to apprehend a

beginning, to give ſuch an infinite ſtart foreward, as to conceive an end in an eſſence that we affirm hath neither the one nor the other; it puts my reaſon to Saint Pauls Sanctuary; my philoſophy dares not ſay the angels can do it: God hath not made a creature that can comprehend him, 'tis the privilege of his own nature; I am that I am, was his own definition unto Moſes; and it was a ſhort one, to confound mortality, that durſt queſtion God, or aſk him what he was; indeed he only is, all others have been and ſhall be, but in eternity there is no diſtinction of tenſes; and therefore that terrible term predeſtination, which hath troubled ſo many weak heads to conceive, and the wiſeſt to explain, is in reſpect to God no preſcious determination of our eſtates to come, but a definitive blaſt of his will already fulfilled, and at the inſtant that he firſt decreed it; for to his eternity which

is

is indiviſible, and altogether, the laſt trump is already ſounded, the reprobates in the flame, and the bleſſed in Abraham's boſom. Saint Peter ſpeaks modeſtly, when he ſaith, a thouſand years to God are but as one day: for to ſpeak like a Philoſopher, thoſe continued inſtances of time which flow into a thouſand years make not to him one moment; what to us is to come, to his eternity is preſent, his whole duration being but one permanent point without ſucceſſion, parts, flux, or diviſion.

SECT. XII.

There is no attribute that adds more difficulty to the myſtery of the trinity, where, tho' in a relative way of Father and Son, we muſt deny a priority. * I wonder how Ariſtotle could conceive the world eternal, or how he could make good two eternities: his ſimilitude of a triangle, comprehended in a ſquare, doth

doth ſomewhat illuſtrate the trinity of our ſouls, and that the triple unity of God; * for there is in us not three, but a trinity of ſouls, becauſe there is in us, if not three diſtinct ſouls, yet differing faculties, that can, and do ſubſiſt apart in different ſubjects, and yet in us are ſo united as to make but one ſoul and ſubſtance; if one ſoul were ſo perfect as to inform three diſtinct bodies, that were a petty trinity: conceive the diſtinct number of three, not divided nor ſeparated by the intellect, but actually comprehended in its unity, and that is a perfect trinity. I have often admired the myſtical way of Pythagoras, and the ſecret magick of numbers; beware of philoſophy, is a precept not to be received in too large a ſenſe; for in this maſs of nature there is a ſet of things that carry in their front, tho' not in capital letters, yet in ſtenography, and ſhort characters, ſomething of divinity, which

which, to wiſer Reaſons, ſerve as luminaries in the abyſs of knowledge, and to judicious beliefs, as ſcales and roundles to mount the pinnacles and higheſt pieces of divinity. The ſevere ſchools ſhall never laugh me out of the philoſophy of Hermes, that this viſible world is but a picture of the inviſible, wherein, as in a pourtrait, things are not truly, but in equivocal ſhapes; and as they counterfeit ſome more real ſubſtance in that inviſible fabrick.

SECT. XIII.

That other attribute, wherewith I recreate my devotion, is his wiſdom, in which I am happy; and for the contemplation of this only, do not repent me that I was bred in the way of ſtudy: the advantage I have of the vulgar, with the content and happineſs I conceive therein, is an ample recompence for all my endeavours, in what part of knowledge

ledge ſoever. Wiſdom is his moſt beauteous attribute; no man can attain unto it, yet Solomon pleaſed God when he deſired it. He is wiſe becauſe he knows all things, and he knoweth all things becauſe he made them all; but his greateſt knowledge is in comprehending what he made not, that is himſelf. And this is alſo the greateſt knowledge in man. For this do I honour my own profeſſion and embrace the counſel even of the Devil himſelf: had he read ſuch a lecture in paradiſe as he did at [a] Delphos, we had better known ourſelves, nor had we ſtood in fear to know him. I know he is wiſe in all, wonderful in what we conceive, but far more in what we comprehend not; for we behold him but aſquint, upon reflex or ſhadow: our underſtanding is dimmer than Moſes's eye, we are ignorant of the back Parts, or lower ſide of his divinity;

[a] *Noſce teipſum.*

divinity; therefore to pry into the maze of his councils, is not only folly in Man, but presumption even in angels; like us, they are his servants, not his senators; he holds no council, but that mystical one of the trinity, wherein tho' there be three persons, there is but one mind that decrees, without contradiction; nor needs he any, his actions are not begot with deliberation, his wisdom naturally knows what is best; his intellect stands ready fraught with the superlative and purest ideas of goodness; consultation and election, which are two motions in us, make but one in him; his actions springing from his power, at the first touch of his will. These are concontemplations metaphysical; my humble speculations have another method, and are content to trace and discover those expressions he hath left in his creatures, and the obvious effects of nature; there is no

no danger to dive into these mysteries; no *sanctum sanctorum* in philosophy: the world was made to be inhabited by beasts, but studied and contemplated by man: it is the debt of our reason we owe unto God, and the homage we pay for not being beasts; without this the world is still as tho' it had not been, or as it was before the sixth day, when as yet there was not a creature that could conceive, or say there was a world. The wisdom of God receives small honour from those vulgar heads, that rudely stare about, and with a gross rusticity admire his works; those highly magnifie him whose judicious enquiry into his acts, and deliberate research into his creatures, return the duty of a devout and learned admiration.

Therefore,

Therefore,

Search while thou wilt, and let thy reaſon go,
To ranſom truth, even to th' abyſs below.
Rally the ſcatter'd cauſes, and that line
Which nature twiſts be able to untwine.
It is thy Maker's will, for unto none,
But unto reaſon, can he e're be known.
The devils know thee; but thoſe damned meteors
Build not thy glory, but confound thy creatures.
Teach my endeavours ſo thy works to read,
That, learning them, in thee I may proceed.
Give thou my reaſon that inſtructive flight,
Whoſe weary wings may on thy hands ſtill light.
Teach me to ſoar aloft, yet ever ſo,
When near the ſun, to ſtoop again below.
Thus ſhall my humble feathers ſafely hover,
And, tho' near earth, more than the heav'ns diſcover.
And then at laſt, when home-ward I ſhall drive,
Rich with the ſpoils of nature, to my hive;
There will I ſit, like that induſtrious fly,
Buzzing thy praiſes, which ſhall never die;
Till death abrupts them, and ſucceeding glory
Bid me go on in a more laſting ſtory.

And this is almoſt all wherein an humble creature may endeavour to

requite, and ſome way to retribute unto his Creator; for if not he that ſaith, *Lord, Lord;* but *he that doth the will of the Father*, ſhall be ſaved; certainly our wills muſt be our performances, and our intents make out our actions; otherwiſe our pious labours ſhall find anxiety in our graves, and our beſt endeavours not hope, but fear a reſurrection.

SECT. XIV.

* There is but one firſt cauſe, and four ſecond cauſes of all things: ſome are without efficient, as God; others without matter, as angels: ſome without form, as the firſt matter: but every eſſence, created or uncreated, hath its final cauſe, and ſome poſitive end both of its eſſence and operation: this is the cauſe I grope after in the works of nature, on this hangs the providence of God; to raiſe ſo beauteous

ous a ſtructure, as the world and the creatures thereof, was but his art; but their ſundry and divided operations, with their predeſtinated ends, are from the treaſury of his wiſdom. In the cauſes, nature, and affections of the eclipſes of ſun and moon, there is moſt excellent ſpeculation; but to dive deeper, and to contemplate a reaſon, why his providence hath ſo diſpoſed and ordered their motions in that vaſt circle, as to conjoin and obſcure each other, is a ſweeter piece of reaſon, and a diviner point of philoſophy; therefore ſometimes, and in ſome things, there appears to me as much divinity in Galen's books *de uſu partium*, as in Suarez's metaphyſicks: had Ariſtotle been as curious in the enquiry of this cauſe as he was of the other, he had not left behind him an imperfect piece of philoſophy, but an abſolute tract of divinity.

SECT.

SECT. XV.

Natura nihil agit fruſtra, is the only indiſputable axiom in philoſophy; * there are no Groteſk in nature; nor any thing framed to fill up empty cantons and unneceſſary ſpaces; in the moſt imperfect creatures, and ſuch as were not preſerved in the ark, but having their ſeeds and principles in the womb of nature, are every where where the power of the ſun is; in theſe is the wiſdom of his hand diſcovered: out of this rank Solomon choſe the object of his admiration; indeed what reaſon may not go to ſchool to the wiſdom of bees, ants and ſpiders? what wiſe hand teacheth them to do what reaſon cannot teach us? ruder heads ſtand amazed at thoſe prodigious pieces of nature, whales, elephants, dromedaries and camels; theſe, I confeſs, are the coloſſus and majeſtick pieces of her hand; but in theſe narrow engines

engines there are more curious mathematicks, and the civility of these little citizens more neatly sets forth the wisdom of their Maker. * Who admires not *Regiomontanus* his fly beyond his eagle, † or wonders not more at the operation of two souls in those little bodies, than but one in the trunk of a cedar? I could never content my contemplation with those general pieces of wonder, the flux and reflux of the sea, the encrease of the Nile, the conversion of the needle to the north; and have studied to match and parallel those in the more obvious and neglected pieces of nature, which without further travel I can do in the ‡ cosmography of myself: we carry with us the wonders we seek without us; there is all Africa and her prodigies in us; we are that bold and adventurous piece of nature, which he that studies wisely learns in a *compendium*, and

what others labour at in a divided piece and endleſs volume.

SECT. XVI.

Thus there are two books from whence I collect my divinity; beſides that written one of God, another of his ſervant nature, that univerſal and publick manuſcript, that lies expanded unto the eyes of all; thoſe that never ſaw him in the one, have diſcovered him in the other: this was the ſcripture and theology of the Heathens; the natural motion of the ſun made them more admire him, than its ſupernatural ſtation did the children of Iſrael; the ordinary effect of nature wrought more admiration in them, than in the other all his miracles: ſurely the Heathens knew better how to join and read theſe myſtical letters than we Chriſtians, who caſt a more careleſs eye on theſe common hieroglyphicks, and diſdain to ſuck divinity

divinity from the flowers of nature. Nor do I ſo forget God, as to adore the name of nature; which I define not, with the ſchools, the principle of motion and reſt, but that ſtraight and regular line, that ſettled and conſtant courſe the wiſdom of God hath ordained for the actions of his creatures, according to their ſeveral kinds. To make a revolution every day is the nature of the ſun, becauſe of that neceſſary courſe which God hath ordained it, from which it cannot ſwerve, by a faculty from that voice which firſt gave it motion. Now this courſe of nature God ſeldom alters or perverts, but like an excellent artiſt hath ſo contrived his work, that, with the ſelf-ſame inſtrument, without a new creation, he may effect his obſcureſt deſigns. Thus he ſweetneth the water with a wood, preſerveth the creatures in the ark, which the blaſt of his mouth might have

have as easily created: for God is like a skilful Geometrician, who when, more easily, and with one stroke of his compass, he might describe or divide a right line, had yet rather do this in a circle or longer way, according to the constituted and forelaid principles of his art: yet this rule of his he doth sometimes pervert, to acquaint the the world with his prerogative, lest the arrogancy of our reason should question his power, and conclude he could not; and thus I call the effects of nature the works of God, whose hand and instrument she only is; and therefore to ascribe his actions unto her, is to devolve the honour of the principal agent upon the instrument; which if with reason we may do, then let our hammers rise up and boast they have built our houses, and our pens receive the honour of our writings. I hold there is a general beauty in the

the works of God, and therefore no deformity in any kind or ſpecies of creature whatſoever: I cannot tell by what logick we call a toad, a bear, or an elephant ugly, they being created in thoſe outward ſhapes and figures which beſt expreſs the actions of their inward forms; and having paſt that general viſitation of God, who ſaw that all that he had made was Good, that is, conformable to his will, which abhors deformity, and is the rule of order and beauty: there is no deformity but in monſtroſity, wherein notwithſtanding there is a kind of beauty; nature ſo ingeniouſly contriving the irregular parts, as they become ſometimes more remarkable than the principal fabrick. To ſpeak yet more narrowly, there was never any thing ugly, or miſſhapen but the chaos; wherein notwithſtanding, to ſpeak ſtrictly, there was no deformity, becauſe no form,

nor was it yet impregnated by the voice of God: now nature is not at variance with art, nor art with nature; they being both the ſervants of his providence: Art is the perfection of nature: were the world now as it was the ſixth day, there were yet a chaos; nature hath made one world, and art another. In brief, all things are artificial, for nature is the art of God *.

SECT. XVII.

This is the ordinary and open way of his providence, which art and induſtry have in a good part diſcovered, whoſe effects we may foretel without an oracle; to foreſhew theſe is not propheſy, but prognoſtication. There is another way full of meanders and labyrinths, whereof the devil and ſpirits have no exact ephemerides, and that is a more particular and obſcure method of his providence, directing the

the operations of individuals and ſingle eſſences; this we call fortune, that ſerpentine and crooked line, whereby he draws thoſe actions his wiſdom intends in a more unknown and ſecret way; this cryptick and involved method of his providence have I ever admired; nor can I relate the hiſtory of my life, the occurrences of my days, the eſcapes of dangers, and hits of chance, with a *Bezo las Manos* to fortune, or a bare gramercy to my good ſtars: Abraham might have thought the ram in the thicket came thither by accident; human reaſon would have ſaid that meer chance conveyed Moſes in the ark to the ſight of Pharaoh's daughter: what a labyrinth is there in the ſtory of Joſeph, able to convert a Stoick? Surely there are in every man's life certain rubs, doublings and wrenches, which paſs a while under the effects of chance, but at the laſt,

laſt, when well examined, prove the meer* hand of God: 'twas not dumb chance, that, to diſcover the fougade or powder-plot, contrived a miſcarrige in the letter. I like the victory of 1588. the better for that one occurrence which our enemies imputed to our diſhonour, and the partiality of fortune, to wit, the tempeſts and contrariety of winds. King Philip did not detract from the nation, when he ſaid, he ſent his Armado to fight with men, and not to combat with the winds. Where there is a manifeſt diſproportion between the powers and forces of two ſeveral agents, upon a maxim of reaſon we may promiſe the victory to the ſuperior; but when unexpected accidents ſlip in, and unthought of occurrences interveen, theſe muſt proceed from a power that owes no obedience to thoſe axioms; where, as in the writing upon the wall, we behold the

the hand, but ſee not the ſpring that moves it. The ſucceſs of that petty province of Holland, (of which the Grand Seignior proudly ſaid, that if they ſhould trouble him as they did the Spaniard, he would ſend his men with ſhovels and pick-axes, and throw it into the ſea) I cannot altogether aſcribe to the ingenuity and induſtry of the people, but to the mercy of God, that hath diſpoſed them to ſuch a thriving genius, and to the will of his providence, that diſpoſeth her favour to each country in their pre-ordinate ſeaſon. All cannot be happy at once *; for, becauſe the glory of one ſtate depends upon the ruin of another, there is a revolution and viciſſitude of their greatneſs, and they muſt obey the ſwing of that wheel, not moved by intelligences, but by the hand of God, whereby all eſtates ariſe to their zenith and vertical points, according

ing to their predeſtinated periods. For the lives not only of men, but of commonwealths, and the whole world, run not upon an helix that ſtill enlargeth, but on a circle, where, arriving at their meridian, they decline in obſcurity, and fall under the horizon again.

SECT. XVIII.

Theſe muſt not therefore be named the effects of fortune, but in a relative way, and as we term the works of nature. It was the ignorance of man's reaſon that begot this very name, and by a careleſs term miſcalled the providence of God: for there is no liberty for cauſes to operate in a looſe and ſtraggling way; nor any effect whatſoever, but hath its warrant from ſome univerſal or ſuperior cauſe. 'Tis not a ridiculous devotion, to ſay a prayer before a game at tables; for even in ſortilegies and matters

of

of greateſt uncertainty, there is a ſettled and pre-ordered courſe of effects: 'tis we that are blind, not fortune; becauſe our eye is too dim to diſcover the myſtery of her effects, we fooliſhly paint her blind, and hoodwink the providence of the Almighty. I cannot juſtify that contemptible proverb, *That fools only are fortunate;* or that inſolent paradox, *That a wiſe man is out of the reach of fortune;* much leſs thoſe opprobrious epithets of poets, *whore*, *bawd* and *ſtrumpet*: 'tis, I confeſs, the common fate of men * of ſingular gifts of mind to be deſtitute of thoſe of fortune; which doth not any way deject the ſpirit of wiſer judgments, who throughly underſtand the juſtice of this proceeding, and, being enriched with higher donatives, caſt a more careleſs eye on theſe vulgar parts of felicity. 'Tis a moſt unjuſt ambition, to deſire to engroſs the mercies

of

of the Almighty; not to be content with the goods of mind without a poſſeſſion of thoſe of body or fortune: and 'tis an error worſe than hereſy, to adore theſe complemental and circumſtantial pieces of felicity, and undervalue thoſe perfections, and eſſential points of happineſs, wherein we reſemble our Maker. To wiſer deſires 'tis ſatisfaction enough to deſerve, tho' not to enjoy, the favours of fortune; let providence provide for fools: 'tis not partiality, but equity in God, who deals with us but as our natural parents; thoſe that are able of body and mind, he leaves to their deſerts; to thoſe of weaker merits he imparts a larger portion, and compenſates the defect of the one by the exceſs of the other. Thus have we no juſt cauſe to quarrel with nature, for leaving us naked; or to envy * the horns, hoofs, ſkins, and furs of other creatures, being provided with

with reaſon, that can ſupply them all. We need not labour with ſo many arguments to confute judicial aſtrology; for if there be a truth therein, it doth not injure divinity: if to be born under *Mercury* diſpoſeth us to be witty, under *Jupiter* to be wealthy, I do not owe a knee unto theſe, but unto that merciful hand that hath ordered my indifferent and uncertain nativity under ſuch benevolous aſpects. Thoſe that hold that all things were governed by fortune had not erred, had they not perſiſted there: the Romans, who erected a temple to fortune, acknowledged therein, though in a blinder way, ſomewhat of divinity; for in a wiſe ſupputation all things begin and end in the Almighty. There is a nearer way to heaven than *Homer*'s chain; an eaſy logick may conjoin heaven and earth in one argument, and leſs than a ſorites reſolve all things into God. For though we

chriſten effects by their moſt ſenſible and neareſt cauſes, yet is God the true and infallible cauſe of all; whoſe concourſe though it be general, yet doth it ſubdivide itſelf into the particular actions of every thing, and is that ſpirit, by which each ſingular eſſence not only ſubſiſts, but performs its operation.

SECT. XIX.

The bad conſtruction and perverſe comment on theſe pair of ſecond cauſes, or viſible hands of God, have perverted the devotion of many unto atheiſm; who, forgetting the honeſt advices of faith, have liſtened unto the conſpiracy of paſſion and reaſon. I have therefore always endeavoured to compoſe thoſe feuds and angry diſſenſions between affection, faith, and reaſon: For there is in our ſoul a kind of * triumvirate, or triple government of three competitors, which diſtracts

diſtract the peace of this our common-wealth, no leſs than did that other the ſtate of Rome.

As reaſon is a rebel unto faith, ſo paſſion unto reaſon: as the propoſitions of faith ſeem abſurd unto reaſon, ſo the theorems of reaſon unto paſſion, and both unto reaſon; yet a moderate and peaceable diſcretion may ſo ſtate and order the matter, that they may be all kings, and yet make but one monarchy; every one exerciſing his ſovereignty and prerogative, in a due time and place, according to the reſtraint and limit of circumſtance. There is, as in philoſophy, ſo in divinity, ſturdy doubts, and boiſterous objections, wherewith the unhappineſs of our knowledge too nearly acquainteth us. More of theſe no man hath known than myſelf, which I confeſs I conquered, not in a martial poſture, but on my knees. For our endeavours are not only to combat with

with doubts, but likewiſe to diſpute with the devil: the villainy of that ſpirit takes a hint of infidelity from our ſtudies, and, by demonſtrating a naturality in one way, makes us miſtruſt a miracle in another. Thus, having perus'd the archidoxes, and read the ſecret ſympathies of things, he would diſuade my belief from the miracle of the [a] brazen ſerpent, make me fancy that image wrought by ſympathy, and that it was but an Ægyptian trick to cure their diſeaſes without a miracle. Again, having ſeen ſome experiments of * Bitumen, and having read far more of † Naphta, he whiſpered to my curioſity the fire of the altar might be natural, and bid me miſtruſt a [b] miracle in Elijah when he intrenched the altar round with water; for that inflammable ſubſtance yields not eaſily unto water, but flames in the arms of its antagoniſt: and thus would

[a] Vid. Num. xxi. 5, 9. [b] 1 Kings ch. xviii.

would he inveigle my belief to think the * cumbuſtion of Sodom might be natural, and that there was an aſphaltick and bituminous nature in that lake before the fire of Gomorrah. I know that manna is now plentifully gathered in Calabria, and Joſephus tells me in his days 'twas as plentiful in Arabia; the devil therefore made the query, where was then the miracle in the days of Moſes? the Iſraelites ſaw, in his time, but what the natives of thoſe countries behold in ours. Thus the devil play'd at cheſs with me, and, yielding a pawn, thought to gain a queen of me, taking advantage of my honeſt endeavours; and whilſt I labour'd to raiſe the ſtructure of my reaſon, he ſtrove to undermine the edifice of my faith.

SECT. XX.

Neither had theſe, or any other, ever ſuch advantage of me, as to in-

incline me to any point of infidelity, or desperate positions of atheism; for I have been these many years of opinion, there was never any. *Those that held religion was the difference of man from beasts have spoken probably, and proceed upon a principle as inductive as the other: †that doctrine of Epicurus, that denied the providence of God, was not atheism, but a magnificent and high-strained conceit of his majesty, which he deemed too sublime to mind the trivial actions of those inferior creatures: that fatal necessity of the Stoicks, is nothing but the immutable law of his will. Those that heretofore denied the divinity of the Holy Ghost, have been condemned but as hereticks; and those that now deny our Saviour (tho' more than hereticks) are not so much as atheists; for tho' they deny two persons

ſons in the Trinity, they hold, as we do, there is but one God.

*That villain and ſecretary of hell, who compoſed that miſcreant piece of the three impoſtors, tho' divided from all religions, and was neither Jew, Turk nor Chriſtian, was not a poſitive atheiſt. I confeſs every country hath its Machiavel, every age its Lucian, whereof common heads muſt not hear, nor more advanced judgments too raſhly venture on: it is the rhetorick of ſatan, and may pervert a looſe or prejudiced belief.

SECT. II.

I confeſs I have peruſed them all, and can diſcover nothing that may ſtartle a diſcreet belief: yet are there heads carried off with the wind and breath of ſuch motives. I remember a doctor of phyſick in Italy, who could not perfectly believe the immortality of the ſoul,

be-

becauſe Galen ſeemed to make a doubt thereof. With another I was familiarly acquainted in France, a divine, and a man of ſingular parts, who on the ſame point was ſo plunged and gravelled with [a] three lines of Seneca, that all our antidotes, drawn from both ſcripture and philoſophy, could not expel the poiſon of his error. There are a ſet of heads that can credit the relations of mariners, yet queſtion the teſtimony of St. Paul; and peremptorily maintain the traditions of Ælian or Pliny, yet in hiſtories of ſcripture raiſe queries and objections, believing no more than they can parallel in human authors. I confeſs there are * in ſcripture ſtories that do exceed the fables of poets, and to a captious reader ſound like Garagantua or Bevis: ſearch all the legends of times paſt,

[a] *Poſt mortem nihil eſt, ipſaque mors nihil. Mors individua eſt noxia corpori, nec parcens animæ.---- Toti morimur, nullaque pars manet noſtri.----*

paſt, and the fabulous conceits of theſe preſent, and it will be hard to find one that deſerves to carry the buckler unto * Sampſon; yet is all this of an eaſy poſſibility, if we conceive a divine concourſe, or an influence but from the little finger of the Almighty. It is impoſſible that either in the diſcourſe of man, or in the infallible voice of God, to the weakneſs of our apprehenſions, there ſhould not appear irregularities, contradictions and antinomies: I myſelf could ſhew a catalogue of doubts, never yet imagined, nor queſtioned, ſo far I as know, which are not reſolved at the firſt hearing; not fantaſtick queries, or objections of air: for I cannot hear of atoms in divinity. I can read the hiſtory of the pigeon that was ſent out of the ark, and returned no more, yet not queſtion how ſhe found out her mate that was left behind: That Lazarus was raiſed

from the dead, yet not demand where in the interim his ſoul awaited; or raiſe a law-caſe, whether his heir might lawfully detain his inheritance, bequeathed unto him by his death, and he, tho' reſtored to life, have no plea or title unto his former poſſeſſions. Whether Eve was framed out of the left ſide of Adam, I diſpute not; becauſe I ſtand not yet aſſured which is the right ſide of a man, or whether there be any ſuch diſtinction in nature; that ſhe was formed out of the rib of Adam I believe, yet raiſe no queſtion who ſhall ariſe with that rib at the reſurrection. Nor whether Adam was an hermaphrodite, as the Rabbins contend upon the letter of the text; becauſe it is contrary to reaſon, there ſhould be an hermaphrodite before there was a woman, or a compoſition of two natures before there was a ſecond compoſed. Likewiſe, whether the world was created

ted in * autumn, ſummer, or the ſpring; becauſe it was created in them all; for whatſoever ſign the ſun poſſeſſeth, theſe four ſeaſons are actualy exiſtent: it is the nature of this luminary to diſtinguiſh the ſeveral ſeaſons of the year, all which it makes at one time in the whole earth, and ſucceſſive in any part thereof. There are a bundle of curioſities, not only in philoſophy but in divinity, propoſed and diſcuſſed by men of moſt ſuppoſed abilities, which indeed are not worthy our vacant ours, much leſs our ſerious ſtudies; pieces only fit to be placed in [a] Pantagruel's library, or bound up with *Tartaretus de modo cacandi.*

SECT. XXII.

Theſe are niceties that become not thoſe that peruſe ſo ſerious a myſtery: there are others more gene-

[a] *In Rabelais.*

generally queſtioned, and called to the bar, yet methinks of an eaſy, and poſſible truth. 'Tis ridiculous to put off, or drown the general * flood of Noah in that great particular inundation of Deucalion: that there was a deluge once, ſeems not to me ſo great a miracle, as that there is not one always. † How all the kinds of creatures, not only in their own bulks, but with a competency of food and ſuſtenance, might be preſerved in one ark, and within the extent of three hundred cubits, to a reaſon that rightly examines it, will appear very feaſible. There is another ſecret, not contained in the ſcripture, which is more hard to comprehend, and put the ‡ honeſt father to the refuge of a miracle; and that is, not only how the diſtinct pieces of the world, and divided iſlands ſhould be firſt planted by men, but inhabited by tygers, panthers and bears. How

America

America abounded with beasts of prey, and noxious animals, yet contained not in it that necessary creature, a horse, is very strange. By what passage those, not only birds, but dangerous and unwelcome beasts came over: How there are creatures there, which are not found in this triple continent; all which must needs be strange unto us, that hold but one ark, and that the creatures began their progress from the mountains of Ararat. They, who to solve this would make the deluge particular, proceed upon a principle which I can no way grant; not only upon the negative of holy scriptures, but of my own reason, whereby I can make it probable, * that the world was as well peopled in the time of Noah as in ours, and fifteen hundred years to people the world as full a time for them, as four thousand years since have been to us. There are other

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assertions, and common tenets drawn from scripture, and generally believed as scripture, whereunto, notwithstanding, I would never betray the liberty of my reason. 'Tis a paradox to me, * that Methusalem was the longest lived of all the children of Adam, and no man will be able to prove it; when, from the process of the text, I can manifest it may be otherwise. That † Judas perished by hanging himself, there is no certainty in scripture, tho' in one place it seems to [a] affirm it, and by a doubtful word hath given occasion to translate it; yet in another place, in a more punctual description, it makes it [b] improbable, and seems to overthrow it. That our fathers, after the flood, erected the tower of Babel, to preserve themselves against a second deluge, is the general opinion and belief; yet is there another intention

[a] Mat. xxviii. 5. [b] Acts i. 18.

tion of theirs expreſſed in [a] ſcripture; beſides, it is improbable from the circumſtance of the place, that is, a plain in the land of Shinar. Theſe are no points of faith, and therefore may admit a free diſpute. There are yet others, and thoſe familiarly concluded from the text, wherein (under favour) I ſee no conſequence. The church of Rome confidently aſſerts the opinion of tutelary angels, from that anſwer, when Peter knocked at the door [b], *'tis not he but his angel;* that is, might ſome ſay, his meſſenger, or ſome body from him; for ſo the original ſignifies, and is as likely to be the doubtful families meaning. This expoſition I once ſuggeſted to a young divine, who anſwered directly thus; to which I remember the Franciſcan opponent replyed no more, but, that it was a new, and no authentick interpretation.

SECT.

[a] Gen. xi. 4. [b] Acts xii. 15.

SECT. XXIII.

These are but the concluſions, and fallible diſcourſes of man upon the word of God, for ſuch I do believe the holy ſcriptures; yet were it of man, I could not chuſe but ſay, it was the moſt ſingular, and ſuperlative piece that hath been extant ſince the creation; were I a Pagan, I ſhould not refrain the lecture of it; and cannot but commend the judgment of *Ptolemy, who thought not his library compleat without it. †The alcoran of the Turks (I ſpeak without prejudice) is an ill compoſed piece, containing in it vain and ridiculous errors in philoſophy, impoſſibilities, fictions, and vanities beyond laughter; maintained by evident and open ſophiſms, the policy of ignorance, demolition of univerſities, and baniſhment of learning; which hath gotten foot by arms and violence: this, without a blow, hath diſſeminated itſelf thro'

thro' the whole earth. It is not unremarkable what Philo firſt obſerved, that the law of Moſes continued two thouſand Years without the leaſt alteration; whereas, we ſee, the laws of other commonwealths do alter with occaſions; and even thoſe, that pretended their original from ſome divinity, have vaniſhed without trace or memory. I believe, beſides *Zoroaſter, there were divers that writ before Moſes, who notwithſtanding have ſuffered the common fate of time. Mens works have an age like themſelves; and tho' they out-live their authors, yet have they a ſtint and period to their duration: this only is a work too hard for the teeth of time, and cannot periſh but in the general flames, when all things ſhall confeſs their aſhes.

SECT. XXIV.

I have heard ſome with deep ſighs lament the loſt lines of Cicero; others with as many groans deplore the * combuſtion of the library of Alexandria; for my own part, I think there be too many in the world, and could with patience behold the urn and aſhes of the Vatican, could I with a few others recover the periſhed leaves of Solomon. I would not omit a copy of †Enoch's pillars, had they many nearer authors than Joſephus, or did not reliſh ſomewhat of the fable. Some men have written more than others have ſpoken; [a] Pineda quotes more authors in one work, than are neceſſary in a whole world. Of‡ theſe three great inventions in Germany, there are two which are not without their inconveniencies, and it is diſputable whether

[a] Pineda in his *monarchia eccleſiaſtica* quotes one thouſand and forty authors.

whether they exceed not their uſe and advantages. It is not a melancholy *utinam* of mine own, but the deſire of better heads, that there were a general ſynod; not to unite the incompatible difference of religion, but for the benefit of learning, to reduce it as it lay at firſt in a few and ſolid authors; and to condemn to the fire thoſe ſwarms and millions of rhapſodies, begotten only to diſtract and abuſe the weaker judgments of ſcholars, and to maintain the trade and myſtery of typographers.

SECT. XXV.

I cannot but wonder with what exceptions the Samaritans could confine their belief to the Pentateuch, or five books of Moſes. I am aſhamed at the rabbinical interpretation of the Jews upon the Old Teſtament, as much as their defection from the New: and truly

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it is beyond wonder, how that contemptible and degenerate iſſue of Jacob, once ſo devoted to ethnick ſuperſtition, and ſo eaſily ſeduced to the idolatry of their neighbours, ſhould now, in ſuch an obſtinate and peremptory belief, adhere unto their own doctrine, expect impoſſibilities, and, in the face and eye of the church, perſiſt without the leaſt hope of converſion: this is a vice in them, that were a virtue in us; for obſtinacy in a bad cauſe is but conſtancy in a good. And herein I muſt accuſe thoſe of my own religion; for there is not any of ſuch a fugitive faith, ſuch an unſtable belief, as a Chriſtian; none that do ſo oft transform themſelves, not only into ſeveral ſhapes of Chriſtianity, and of the ſome ſpecies, but into more unnatural and contrary forms, of Jew and Mahometan; who, from the name of Saviour, can condeſcend to the bare term of prophet;

prophet; and from an old belief that he is come, fall to a new expectation of his coming: it is the promiſe of Chriſt to make us all one flock; but how and when this union ſhall be, is as obſcure to me as the laſt day. Of thoſe four members of religion we hold a ſlender proportion; there are I confeſs ſome new additions, yet ſmall to thoſe which accrue to our adverſaries; and thoſe only drawn from the revolt of Pagans, men but of negative impieties, and ſuch as deny Chriſt, but becauſe they never heard of him: but the religion of the Jew is expreſly againſt the Chriſtian, and the Mahometan againſt both; for the Turk, in the bulk he now ſtands, is beyond all hope of converſion; if he fall aſunder there may be conceived hopes, but not without ſtrong improbabilities. The Jew is obſtinate in all fortunes; the perſecuti-

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on of fifteen hundred years hath but confirmed them in their error; they have already endured whatsoever may be inflicted, and have suffered, in a bad cause, even to the condemnation of their enemies. Persecution is a bad and indirect way to plant religion; it hath been the unhappy method of angry devotions, not only to confirm honest religion, but wicked heresies, and extravagant opinions. It was the first stone and basis of our faith; none can more justly boast of persecutions, * and glory in the number and valour of martyrs; for, to speak properly, these are true, and almost only examples of fortitude: those that are fetched from the field, or drawn from the actions of the camp, are not oft-times so truly precedents of valour as audacity, and at the best attain but to some bastard piece of fortitude: † if we shall strictly examine the circumstances

cumſtances and requiſites which Ariſtotle requires to true and perfect valour, we ſhall find the name only in his maſter Alexander, and as little in that Roman worthy, Julius Cæſar; and if any, in that eaſy and active way, have done ſo nobly as to deſerve that name, yet, in the paſſive and more terrible piece, theſe have ſurpaſſed, and in a more heroical way may claim the honour of that title. 'Tis not in the power of every honeſt faith to proceed thus far, or paſs to heaven thro' the flames; every one hath it not in that full meaſure, nor ſo audacious and reſolute a temper, as to endure thoſe terrible teſts and trials, who, notwithſtanding in a peaceable way, do truly adore their Saviour, and have, no doubt, a faith acceptable in the eyes of God.

SECT.

SECT. XXVI.

Now as all that die in war are not termed ſoldiers, ſo neither can I properly term all thoſe that ſuffer in matters of religion martyrs: The council of Conſtance condemns * John Huſs for an heretick, the ſtories of his own party ſtile him a martyr; he muſt needs offend the divinity of both, who ſays he was neither the one nor the other: there are many, queſtionleſs, canonized on earth, who ſhall never be ſaints in heaven; and have their names in hiſtories and martyrologies, who in the eyes of God are not ſo perfect † martyrs as was that wiſe heathen, Socrates, who ſuffered on a fundamental point of religion, the unity of God. I have often pitied the miſerable ‡ biſhop who ſuffered in the cauſe of antipodes, yet cannot chuſe but accuſe him of as much madneſs, for expoſing his life on ſuch a trifle,

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as those of ignorance and folly who condemned him. I think my conscience would not give me the lie, if I say, there are not many extant who, in a noble way, fear the face of death less than myself; yet, from the moral duty I owe to the commandment of God, and the natural respects that I tender unto the conservation of my essence and being, I would not perish upon a ceremony, politick points, or indifferency: nor is my belief of that untractable temper, as not to bow at their obstacles, or connive at matters wherein there are not manifest impieties; the leaven therefore and ferment of all, not only civil but, religious actions, is wisdom; without which, to commit ourselves to the flames is homicide, and (I fear) but to pass thro' one fire into another.

SECT. XXVII.

That miracles are ceaſed, I can neither prove, nor abſolutely deny, much leſs define the time and period of their ceſſation; that they ſurvived Chriſt, is manifeſt upon record of ſcripture; that they outlived the apoſtles alſo, and were revived at the converſion of nations, many years after, we cannot deny, if we ſhall not queſtion thoſe writers whoſe teſtimonies we do not controvert, in points that make for our own opinions; therefore that may have ſome truth in it that is reported by the Jeſuites of their miracles in the Indies; I could wiſh it were true, or had any other teſtimony than their own pens: they may eaſily believe thoſe miracles abroad, who daily conceive a greater at home; the tranſmutation of thoſe viſible elements into the body and blood of our Saviour: for the converſion of water into wine, which he

he wrought in Cana, or, what the devil would have had him do in the wilderneſs, of ſtones into bread, compared to this, will ſcarce deſerve the name of a miracle: tho' indeed, to ſpeak properly, there is not one miracle greater than another, they being the extraordinary effect of the hand of God, to which all things are of an equal facility; and to create the world is as eaſy as one ſingle creature. For this is alſo a miracle, not only to produce effects againſt, or above nature, but before nature; and to create nature as great a miracle, as to contradict or tranſcend her. We do too narrowly define the power of God, reſtraining it to our capacities. * I hold that God can do all things; how he ſhould work contradictions I do not underſtand, yet dare not therefore deny. I cannot ſee why the angel of God ſhould queſtion Eſdras to recall the time

paſt,

paſt, if it were beyond his own power; or that God ſhould poſe mortality in that, which he was not able to perform himſelf. I will not ſay God cannot, but he will not perform many things, which we plainly affirm he cannot: this I am ſure is the moſt mannerly propoſition, wherein notwithſtanding I hold no paradox. For ſtrictly, his power is the ſame with his will, and they both with all the reſt do make but one God.

SECT. XXVIII.

Therefore that miracles have been I do believe; that they may yet be wrought by the living I do not deny: but have no confidence in thoſe which are fathered on the dead; * and this hath ever made me ſuſpect the efficacy of reliques, to examine the bones, queſtion the habits and appurtinances of ſaints, and even of Chriſt himſelf; I cannot

not conceive why the croſs that Helena found, and whereon Chriſt himſelf died, ſhould have power to reſtore others unto life; * I excuſe not Conſtantine from a fall off his horſe, or a miſchief from his enemies, upon the wearing thoſe nails on his bridle which our Saviour bore upon the croſs in his hands: I compute among your *piæ fraudes*, † nor many degrees before conſecrated ſwords and roſes, that which Baldwin king of Jeruſalem returned the Genoeſe for their coſt and pains in his war, to wit, the aſhes of John the Baptiſt. Thoſe, who hold the ſanctity of their ſouls doth leave behind a tincture and ſacred faculty on their bodies, ſpeak naturally of miracles, and do not ſolve the doubt. Now one reaſon I tender ſo little devotion to reliques is, I think, the ſlender and doubtful reſpect I have always held unto antiquities: for that indeed which I admire

admire is far before antiquity, that is eternity, and that is God himself; who, tho' he be ſtiled the Antient of days, cannot receive the adjunct of antiquity, who was before the world, and ſhall be after it, yet is not older than it: for in his years there is no climacterick, his duration is eternity, and far more venerable than antiquity.

SECT. XXIX.

But, above all things, I wonder how the curioſity of wiſer heads could paſs that great and indiſputable miracle, * the ceſſation of oracles: and in what ſwoon their reaſons lay, to content themſelves and ſit down with ſuch far-fetched and ridiculous reaſons as Plutarch alledgeth for it. The Jews, who can believe the ſupernatural ſolſtice of the ſun in the days of Joſhua, have yet the impudence to deny the eclipſe, which every Pagan confeſſed at our Saviour's

Saviour's death: but for this, it is evident beyond all contradiction, [a] the devil himself confessed it. Certainly it is not a warrantable curiosity, to examine the verity of scripture by the concordance of human history, or seek to confirm the chronicle of Esther, or Daniel, by the authority of * Megasthenes or Herodotus: I confess I have had an unhappy curiosity this way, till I laughed myself out of it with a piece of † Justin, where he delivers that the children of Israel for being scabbed were banished out of Egypt. And truly since I have understood the occurrences of the world, and know in what counterfeit shapes, and deceitful vizards, time represents on the stage things past; I do believe them little more than things to come. Some have been of my opinion, and endeavoured to write the history of their own lives; wherein

[a] In his oracle to Augustus.

wherein Moſes hath outgone them all, and left not only the ſtory of of his life, but, as ſome will have it, of his death alſo.

SECT. XXX.

It is a riddle to me, how this ſtory of oracles hath not worm'd out of the world that doubtful conceit of ſpirits and witches; how ſo many learned heads ſhould ſo far forget their metaphyſicks, and deſtroy the ladder and ſcale of creatures, as to queſtion the exiſtence of ſpirits: for my part, I have ever believed, * and do now know, that there are witches; they that doubt of theſe, do not only deny them, but ſpirits; and are obliquely and upon conſequence a ſort, not of infidels, but of atheiſts. Thoſe, who to confute their incredulity deſire to ſee apparitions, ſhall queſtionleſs never behold any, nor have the power to be ſo much as witches;

witches; the devil hath them already in a heresy as capital as witchcraft, and to appear to them, were but to convert them: of all the delusions wherewith he deceives mortality, there is not any that puzzleth me more than the legerdemain of Changelings; I do not credit those transformations of reasonable creatures into beasts, or that the devil hath a power to transpeciate a man into a horse, who tempted Christ (as a trial of his divinity) to convert but stones into bread. I could believe that spirits use with man the the act of carnality, and that in both sexes; I conceive they may assume, steal, or contrive a body, wherein there may be action enough to content decrepit lust, or passion to satisfy more active veneries; yet in both, without a possibility of generation: and therefore that opinion, that antichrist should be born of the tribe

of Dan, by conjunction with the devil, is ridiculous, and a conceit fitter for a Rabbin than a Chriſtian. I hold that the devil doth really poſſeſs ſome men, the ſpirit of melancholy others, the ſpirit of deluſion others; that as the devil is concealed and denied by ſome, ſo God and good angels are pretended by others, whereof the late defection of the maid of Germany hath left a pregnant example.

SECT XXXI.

Again, I believe that all that uſe ſorceries, incantations, and ſpells, are not witches, or, as we term them, magicians; I conceive there is a traditional magick, not learned immediately from the devil, but at ſecond hand from his ſcholars; who, having once the ſecret betrayed, are able, and do empirically practiſe without his advice, they both proceeding upon the principles of nature;

nature; where actives, aptly conjoined to diſpoſed paſſives, will under any maſter produce their effects. Thus I think at firſt a great part of philoſophy was witchcraft, which, being afterward derived to one another, proved but philoſophy, and was indeed no more but the honeſt effects of nature: what invented by us is philoſophy, learned from him is magick: We do ſurely owe the diſcovery of many ſecrets to the diſcovery of good and bad angels. I could never paſs that ſentence of Paracelſus without an aſteriſk or annotation; [a] *Aſcendens conſtellatum multa revelat, quærentibus magnalia naturæ*, i. e. *opera Dei*. I do think that many myſteries, aſcribed to our own inventions, have been the courteous revelations of ſpirits; for thoſe noble eſſences in heaven bear a friendly regard

[a] Thereby is meant our good angel, appointed us from our nativity.

gard unto their fellow natures on earth; and therefore believe that thoſe many prodigies and ominous prognoſticks, which fore-run the the ruins of ſtates, princes, and private perſons, are the charitable premonitions of good angels, which more careleſs enquiries term but the effects of chance and nature.

SECT. XXXII.

Now, beſides theſe particular and divided ſpirits, there may be (for ought I know) an univerſal and common ſpirit to the whole world. * It was the opinion of Plato, and it is yet of the hermetical philoſophers; if there be a common nature that unites and ties the ſcattered and divided individuals into one ſpecies, why may there not be one that unites them all? However, I am ſure there is a common ſpirit that plays within us, yet makes no part of us; and that is

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the ſpirit of God, the fire and ſcintillation of that noble and mighty eſſence, which is the life and radical heat of ſpirits, and thoſe eſſences that know not the virtue of the ſun; a fire quite contrary to the fire of hell: This is that gentle heat that brooded on the waters, and in ſix days hatched the world; this is that irradiation that diſpels the miſts of hell, the clouds of horror, fear, ſorrow, deſpair; and preſerves the region of the mind in ſerenity: whoſoever feels not the warm gale and gentle ventilation of this ſpirit, (though I feel his pulſe) I dare not ſay he lives; for truly without this, to me there is no heat under the tropick; nor any light, though I dwelt in the body of the ſun.

As

As when the labouring Sun hath wrought his track,
Up to the top of lofty Cancer's back,
The icie ocean cracks, the frozen pole
Thaws with the heat of the celestial coal;
So when thy absent beams begin t' impart,
Again a Solstice on my frozen heart,
My winter's o'er, my drooping spirits sing,
And every part revives into a spring.
But if thy quickning beams a while decline,
And with their light bless not this orb of mine,
A chilly frost surpriseth every member,
And in the midst of June I feel December.
O how this earthly Temper doth debase
The noble soul, in this her humble place!
Whose winged nature ever doth aspire,
To reach that place whence first it took its fire.
These flames I feel, which in my heart do dwell,
Are not thy beams, but take their fire from Hell:
O quench them all, and let thy light divine
Be as the Sun to this poor orb of mine.
And to thy sacred Sp'rit convert those fires,
Whose earthly fumes choak my devout aspires.

SECT.

SECT. XXXIII.

Therefore, for ſpirits I am ſo far from denying their exiſtence, that I could eaſily believe, that not only whole countries, but particular perſons, have their tutelary and guardian angels: It is not a new opinion of the church of Rome, but an old one of Pythagoras and Plato; there is no hereſy in it, and if not manifeſtly defined in ſcripture; yet it is an opinion of a good and wholeſome uſe in the courſe and actions of a man's life, and would ſerve as an hypotheſis to ſolve many doubts, whereof common philoſophy affordeth no ſolution: Now if you demand my opinion and metaphyſicks of their natures, I confeſs them very ſhallow, moſt of them in a negative way, like that of God; or in a comparative, between ourſelves and fellow creatures; for there is in this univerſe a ſtair, or manifeſt ſcale of crea-

creatures, rising not disorderly, or in confusion, but with a comely method and proportion: Between creatures of meer existence, and things of life, there is a large disproportion of nature; between plants and animals, or creatures of sense, a wider difference; between them and man, a far greater: and if the proportion hold on, between man and angels there should be yet a greater. Those do not comprehend their natures, who retain the first definition of Porphyry, and distinguish them from ourselves by immortality: for before the fall man also was immortal; yet must we needs affirm, that he had a different essence from the angels: having therefore no certain knowledge of their natures, 'tis no bad method of the schools, whatsoever perfection we find obscurely in ourselves, in a more compleat and absolute way to ascribe unto them.

I believe they have an extemporary knowledge, and upon the first motion of their reason do what we cannot without study or deliberation; that they know things by their forms, and define, by specifical difference, what we describe by accidents and properties; and therefore probabilities to us may be demonstrations unto them: that they have knowledge not only of the specifical, but numerical forms of individuals, and understand by what reserved difference each single hypostasis (besides the relation to its species) becomes its numerical self. That as the soul hath a power to move the body it informs, so they have a faculty to move any, tho' inform none; we are confined to time, place and distance; but that invisible hand that conveyed Habakkuk to the lion's den, or Philip to Azotus, infringeth this rule, and hath a secret conveyance, wherewith

mortality is not acquainted: if they have that intuitive knowledge, whereby, as in reflexion, they behold the thoughts of one another, I cannot peremptorily deny, but they know a great part of ours. Thoſe who, to refute the invocation of ſaints, have denied that they have any knowledge of our affairs below, have proceeded too far, and muſt pardon my opinion, till I can throughly anſwer that piece of ſcripture, *At the converſion of a ſinner the angels in heaven rejoice*[a]. I cannot with thoſe in that *great father ſecurely interpret the work of the firſt day, *Fiat lux*, to the creation of angels, tho', I confeſs, there is not any creature that hath ſo near a glimpſe of their nature, as light in the ſun and elements: we ſtile it a bare accident; but where it ſubſiſts alone, 'tis a ſpiritual ſubſtance, and may be an angel: in brief, conceive

[a] Luke xv. 7, 10.

ceive light inviſible, and that is a ſpirit.

SECT. XXXIV.

Theſe are certainly the magiſterial and maſter-pieces of the creator, the flower, or (as we may ſay) the beſt part of nothing, actually exiſting, of which we are but in the hope, and probability: we are only that amphibious piece between a corporal and ſpiritual eſſence, that middle form that links theſe two together, and makes good the method of God and nature; that jumps not from extremes, but unites the incompatible diſtances by ſome middle and participating natures: that we are the breath and ſimilitude of God is indiſputable, and upon record of holy ſcripture; but to call ourſelves a microcoſm, or little world, I thought only a pleaſant trope of rhetorick, till my near judgment and ſecond thoughts told me there

was

was a real truth therein: for first we are a rude mass, and in the rank of creatures which only are, and have a dull kind of being, not yet privileged with life, or preferred to sense or reason; next we live the life of plants, the life of animals, the life of men, and at last the life of spirits, running on in one mysterious nature those five kinds of existences, which comprehend the creatures not only of the world, but of the universe; thus is man that great and true Amphibion, whose nature is disposed to live not only like other creatures in divers elements, but in divided and distinguished worlds; for tho' there is but one world to sense, there are two to reason; the one visible, the other invisible; of the one Moses seems to have left description, but of the other so obscurely, that some parts thereof are yet in controversy; and truly in the first chapters of Genesis,

neſis, I muſt confeſs a great deal of obſcurity; though divines have, to the power of human reaſon, endeavoured to make all go in a literal meaning, yet thoſe allegorical interpretations are alſo probable, and perhaps no other than the myſtical method of Moſes, bred up in the hieroglyphical ſchools of the Egyptians.

SECT. XXXV.

Now for that immaterial world, methinks we need not wander ſo far as beyond the firſt moveable; for even in this material fabrick the ſpirits walk as freely exempt from the affection of time, place, and motion, as beyond the extremeſt circumference: do but extract from the corpulency of bodies, or reſolve things beyond the firſt matter, and you diſcover the habitation of angels, which if I call the ubiquitary, and omnipreſent eſ-

ſence

ſence of God, I hope I ſhall not offend divinity; for before the creation of the world God was really all things. For the angels he created no new world, or determinate manſion, and therefore they are every-where where his eſſence is, and do live at a diſtance even in himſelf. That God made all things for man, is in ſome ſenſe true, yet not ſo far as to ſubordinate the creation of thoſe purer creatures unto ours, tho' as miniſtring ſpirits they do, and are willing to fulfil the will of God in theſe lower and ſublunary affairs of man: God made all things for himſelf, and it is impoſſible he ſhould make them for any other end than his own glory; it is all he can receive, and all that is without himſelf: for honour being an external adjunct, and in the honourer rather than in the perſon honoured, it was neceſſary to make a creature, from

from whom he might receive this homage, and that is in the other world angels, in this man; which when we neglect, we forget the very end of our creation, and may justly provoke God, not only to repent that he hath made the world, but that he hath sworn he would not destroy it. That there is but one world, is a conclusion of faith: Aristotle with all his philosophy hath not been able to prove it, and as weakly that the world was eternal; that dispute much troubled the pens of the antient philosophers, but Moses decided that question, * and all is solved with the new term of a creation, that is, a production of something out of nothing; and what is that nothing? whatsoever is opposite to something; or more exactly, that which is truly contrary unto God: for he only is, all others have an existence with dependency, and are something, but by

by a distinction; and herein is divinity conformable unto philosophy, and generation not only founded on contrarieties, but also creation; God being all things is contrary unto nothing, out of which were made all things, and so nothing became something, and omneity informed nullity into an essence.

SECT. XXXVI.

The whole creation is a mystery, and particularly that of man: at the blast of his mouth were the rest of the creatures made, and at his bare word they started out of nothing; but in the frame of man (as the text describes it) he played the sensible operator, and seemed not so much to create, as make him; when he had separated the materials of other creatures, there consequently resulted a form and soul; but having raised the walls of man, he was driven to a second and harder

creation

creation of a ſubſtance like himſelf, an incorruptible and immortal ſoul. For theſe two affections we have the philoſophy and opinion of the Heathens, the flat affirmative of Plato, and not a negative from Ariſtotle: there is another ſcruple caſt in by divinity, *concerning its production, much diſputed in the German auditories, and with that indifferency and equality of arguments, as leave the contraverſy undetermined. I am not of Paracelſus's mind who boldly delivers a receipt to make a man without conjunction; yet cannot but wonder at the multitude of heads that do deny traduction, having no other argument to confirm their belief, than that rhetorical ſentence, and antimetatheſis of Auguſtine, *creando infunditur, infundendo creatur*: either opinion will conſiſt well enough with religion, yet I ſhould rather incline to this, did not one

objection haunt me, not wrung from ſpeculations and ſubtilties, but from common ſenſe and obſervation; not pickt from the leaves of any author, but bred amongſt the weeds and tares of mine own brain; and this is a concluſion from the equivocal and monſtrous productions in the copulation of man with beaſt: for if the ſoul of man be not tranſmitted and transfuſed in the ſeed of the parents, why are not thoſe productions meerly beaſts, but have alſo an impreſſion and tincture of reaſon in as high a meaſure as it can evidence itſelf in thoſe improper organs? Nor truly can I peremptorily deny, that the ſoul, in this her ſublunary ſtate, is wholly and in all acceptations inorganical; but that, for the performance of her ordinary actions, there is required not only a ſymmetry, and proper diſpoſition of organs, but a * craſis and temper correſpondent to its

its operations: yet is not this maſs of fleſh and viſible ſtructure the inſtrument and proper corps of the ſoul, but rather of ſenſe, and that the hand of reaſon. In our ſtudy of anatomy there is a maſs of myſterious philoſophy, and ſuch as reduced the very * Heathens to divinity; yet, amongſt all thoſe rare diſcoveries, and curious pieces I find in the fabrick of man, I do not ſo much content myſelf, as in what I find not, that is, no organ or inſtrument for the rational ſoul: for in the brain, which we term the ſeat of reaſon, there is not any thing of moment more than I can diſcover in the crany of a beaſt: and this is a ſenſible and no inconſiderable argument of the inorganity of the ſoul, at leaſt in that ſenſe we uſually ſo receive it. Thus we are men, and we know not how; there is ſomething in us that can be without us, and will be after us,

tho'

tho' it is ſtrange that it hath no hiſtory what it was before us, nor can tell how it entered into us.

SECT. XXXVII.

Now for theſe walls of fleſh, wherein the ſoul doth ſeem to be immured before the reſurrection, they are nothing but an elemental compoſition, and a fabrick that may fall to aſhes; *All fleſh is graſs*[a], is not only metaphorically, but literally true; for all thoſe creatures we behold, are but the herbs of the field, digeſted into fleſh in them, and more remotely carnified in ourſelves. Nay further, we are, what we all abhor, anthropophagi and cannibals, devourers not only of men, but of our ſelves; and that not in an allegory, but a poſitive truth; for all this maſs of fleſh, which we behold, came in at our mouths: this frame we look upon, hath been

[a] 1 Pet. i. 24.

been upon our trenchers; in brief we have devoured ourſelves. *I cannot believe the wiſdom of Pythagoras did ever poſitively, and in a literal ſenſe, affirm his metempſychoſis, or impoſſible tranſmigration of the ſouls of men into beaſts: of all metamorphoſes or tranſmigrations, I believe only one, that is of Lot's wife; for that of Nebuchadnezar proceeded not ſo far; in all others I conceive there is no further verity than is contained in their implicit ſenſe and morality. I believe that the whole frame of a beaſt doth periſh, and is left in the ſame ſtate after death, as before it was materialed unto life; that the ſouls of men know neither contrary nor corruption; that they ſubſiſt beyond the body, and outlive death by the privilege of their proper natures, and without a miracle; that the ſouls of the faithful, as they leave earth, take poſſeſſion of

of heaven; that thoſe aparitions, and ghoſts of departed perſons, are not the wandring ſouls of men, but the unquiet walks of devils, prompting and ſuggeſting us unto miſchief, blood, and villainy, by inſtilling, and ſtealing into our hearts; that the bleſſed ſpirits are not at reſt in their graves, but wander ſollicitous of the affairs of the world; but that thoſe phantoms appear often, and do frequent cemiteries, charnel-houſes, and churches, is, becauſe thoſe are the dormitories of the dead, where the devil, like an inſolent champion, beholds with pride the ſpoils and trophies of his victory over Adam.

SECT. XXXVIII.

This is that diſmal conqueſt we all deplore, that makes us ſo often cry, *O Adam, quid feciſti?* I thank God I have not thoſe ſtrait ligaments, or narrow obligations to the

the world, as to dote on life, or be convulſed and tremble at the name of death: not that I am inſenſible of the dread and horror thereof; or that by raking into the bowels of the deceaſed, by the continual ſight of anatomies, ſkeletons, or cadaverous reliques, like viſpilloes, or grave-makers, * I am become ſtupid, or have forgot the apprehenſion of mortality; but that, marſhalling all the horrors, and contemplating the extremities thereof, I find not any thing therein able to daunt the courage of a man, much leſs a well † reſolved Chriſtian. And therefore I am not angry at the error of our firſt parents, or unwilling to bear a part of this common fate, or, like the beſt of them, to die, that is, to ceaſe to breathe, to take a farewel of the elements, to be a kind of nothing for a moment, to be within one inſtant of a ſpirit. When I take a full view and

circle

circle of my ſelf, without this reaſonable moderator, and equal piece of juſtice, death, I do conceive myſelf the moſt * miſerable perſon extant; were there not another life that I hope for, all the vanities of this world ſhould not intreat a moment's breath from me; could the devil work my belief to imagine I could ever die, I would not out-live that very thought: I have ſo abject a conceit of this common way of exiſtence, this retaining to the ſun and elements, that I cannot think this is to be a man, or to live according to the dignity of humanity; in expectation of a better, I can with patience embrace this life, yet in my beſt meditations do often defy death; I honour any man that contemns it, nor can I highly love any that is afraid of it: this makes me naturally love a ſoldier, and honour thoſe tattered and contemptible regiments that will die at the com-

command of a ſerjeant. For a Pagan there may be ſome motives to be in love with life; but for a Chriſtian to be amazed at death, I ſee not how he can eſcape this dilemma, that he is too ſenſible of this life, or hopeleſs of the life to come.

SECT. XXXIX.

Some divines, count Adam thirty years old at his creation, becauſe they ſuppoſe him created in the perfect age and ſtature of man: And ſurely we are all out of the computation of our age, and every man is ſome months elder than he bethinks him; for we live, move, have a being, and are ſubject to the actions of the elements, and the malice of diſeaſes in that other world, the trueſt microcoſme, the womb of our mother; for beſides that general and common exiſtence we are conceived to hold in our chaos, and whilſt we ſleep

within the boſom of our cauſes, we enjoy a being and life in three diſtinct worlds, wherein we receive moſt manifeſt gradations: In that obſcure world, and womb of our mother, our time is ſhort computed by the moon; yet longer than the days of many * creatures that behold the ſun; we being even then endued with life, ſenſe and reaſon; tho' for the manifeſtation of its actions, it awaits the opportunity of objects, and ſeems to live there but in its root and ſoul of vegetation: entering afterwards upon the ſcene of the world, we ariſe up and become another creature, performing the reaſonable actions of man, and obſcurely manifeſting that part of divinity in us; but not in complement and perfection, till we have once more caſt our ſecondine, that is, this ſlough of fleſh, and are delivered into the laſt world, that is, that ineffable place of Paul, that

proper

proper *ubi* of ſpirits. The ſmattering I have of the philoſophers ſtone, (which is ſomething more than the perfect exaltation of gold) hath taught me a great deal of divinity, and inſtructed my belief, how that immortal ſpirit and incorruptible ſubſtance of my ſoul may lie obſcure, and ſleep a while within this houſe of fleſh. *Thoſe ſtrange and myſtical tranſmigrations, that I have obſerved in ſilkworms, have turned my philoſophy into divinity. There is in theſe works of nature, which ſeem to puzzle reaſon, ſomething divine, and hath more in it than the eye of a common ſpectator doth diſcover.

SECT. XL.

I am naturally baſhful, nor hath converſation, age, or travel, been able to effront, or enharden me; yet I have one part of modeſty, which I have ſeldom diſcovered in another,

another, that is, (to ſpeak truly) I am not ſo much afraid of death, as aſhamed thereof; 'tis the very diſgrace and ignominy of our natures, that in a moment can ſo disfigure us, that our neareſt friends, wife and children, ſtand afraid and ſtart at us. The birds and beaſts of the field that before in a natural fear obeyed us, forgetting all allegiance, begin to prey upon us. This very conceit hath in a tempeſt diſpoſed, and left me willing to be ſwallowed up in the abyſs of waters; wherein I had periſhed, unſeen, unpitied, without wondering eyes, tears of pity, lectures of mortality, and none had ſaid, *Quantum mutatus ab illo!* Not that I am aſhamed of the anatomy of my parts, or can accuſe nature for playing the bungler in any part of me, or my own vitious life for contracting any ſhameful diſeaſe upon me, whereby I might not call myſelf as wholeſom

ſom a morſel for the worms as any.

SECT. XLI.

Some upon the courage of a fruitful iſſue, wherein, as in the trueſt chronicle, they ſeem to outlive themſelves, can with greater patience away with death. This conceit, and counterfeit ſubſiſting in our progeny, ſeems to me a meer fallacy, unworthy the deſires of a man, who can but conceive a thought of the next world; who, in a nobler ambition, ſhould deſire to live in his ſubſtance in heaven rather than in his name and ſhadow on the earth. And therefore, at my death, I mean to take a total adieu of the world, not caring for a monument, hiſtory, or epitaph; not ſo much as the bare memory of my name to be found any-where but in the univerſal regiſter of God: I am not yet ſo cynical, as to approve

prove the [a] teſtament of Diogenes; nor do I altogether allow that rodomontado of Lucan;

----Cœlo tegitur, qui non habet urnam.

He that unburied lies wants not his herſe,
For unto him a tomb's the univerſe.

But commend in my calmer judgment thoſe ingenuous intentions that deſire to ſleep by the urns of their fathers, and ſtrive to go the *neateſt way unto corruption. I do not envy the temperament of †crows and daws, nor the numerous and weary days of our fathers before the flood. If there be any truth in aſtrology, I may outlive a jubilee; as yet I have not ſeen one revolution of Saturn, nor hath my pulſe beat thirty years, and yet, excepting one, have ſeen the aſhes of, and left

[a] Who willed his friend not to bury him, but to hang him up with a ſtaff in his hand to fright away the crows.

left under ground, all the kings of Europe; have been contemporary to three Emperors, four Grand Signiors, and as many Popes: Methinks I have outlived myself, and begin to be weary of the sun; I have shaken hands with delight in my warm blood and canicular days; I perceive I do anticipate the vices of age; the world to me is but a dream, or mock-show, and we all therein but Pantaloons and Anticks to my severer contemplations.

SECT. XLII.

It is not, I confess, an unlawful prayer to desire to surpass the days of our Saviour, or wish to out-live that age wherein he thought fittest to die; yet if (as divinity affirms) there shall be no gray hairs in heaven, but all shall rise in the perfect state of men, we do but out-live those perfections in this world, to be recalled unto them by a greater

ter miracle in the next, and run on here but to be retrograde hereafter. Were there any hopes to outlive vice, or were it a point to be ſuper-annuated from ſin, it were worthy our knees to implore the days of Methuſelah. But age doth not rectify, but incurvate our natures, turning bad diſpoſitions into worſe habits, and (like diſeaſes) brings on incurable vices; for every day as we grow weaker in age, we grow ſtronger in ſin, and the number of our days doth but make our ſins innumerable. The ſame vice, committed at ſixteen, is not the ſame, tho' it agree in all other circumſtances, at forty; but ſwells and doubles from the circumſtance of our ages, wherein, beſides the conſtant and inexcuſable habit of tranſgreſſing, the maturity of our judgment cuts off pretence unto excuſe or pardon: every ſin the oftner it is committed, the more it acqui-

reth

reth in the quality of evil; as it ſucceeds in time, ſo it precedes in degrees of badneſs; for as they proceed they ever multiply, and, like figures in arithmetick, the laſt ſtands for more than all that went before it: And though I think no man can live well once but he that could live twice, yet for my own that part, I would not live over my hours paſt, or begin again the thread of my days; not upon Cicero's ground; becauſe I have lived them well, but for fear I ſhould live them worſe: I find my growing judgment daily inſtructs me how to be better, but my untamed affections and confirmed vitioſity makes me daily do worſe: I find in my confirmed age the ſame ſins I diſcovered in my youth; I committed many then becauſe I was a child, and becauſe I commit them ſtill I am yet an infant. Therefore I perceive a man may be twice a child

before the days of dotage, and ſtand in need of * Æſon's bath before threeſcore.

SECT. XLIII.

And truly there goes a great deal of providence to protract a man's life unto threeſcore; there is more required than an able temperament for thoſe years; tho' the radical humour contain in it ſufficient oil for 70, yet I perceive in ſome it gives no light paſt thirty; men aſſign not all the cauſes of long life who write whole books thereon. They, that found themſelves on the radical balſam or vital ſulphur of the parts, determine not why Abel liv'd not ſo long as Adam. There is therefore a ſecret gloom or bottom of our days; 'twas his wiſdom to determine them, but his perpetual and walking providence that fulfils and accompliſheth them; wherein the ſpirits, ourſelves, and all

all the creatures of God, in a ſecret and diſputed way, do execute his will. Let them not therefore complain of immaturity that dye about thirty; they fall but like the whole world, whoſe ſolid and well compoſed ſubſtance muſt not expect the duration and period of its conſtitution; when all things are compleated in it, its age is accompliſhed, and the laſt and general fever may as naturally deſtroy it before ſix thouſand, as me before forty: there is therefore ſome other hand that twines the thread of of life than that of nature; we are not only ignorant in antipathies and occult qualities; our ends are as obſcure as our beginnings; the line of our days is drawn by night, and the various effects therein by a pencil that is inviſible; wherein tho' we confeſs our ignorance, I am ſure we do not err, if we ſay, it is the hand of God.

SECT.

SECT. XLIV.

I am much taken with two verſes of Lucan, ſince I have been able not only, as we do at ſchool, to conſtrue, but underſtand.

Victuroſque Dei celant ut vivere durent,
Felix eſſe mori.

We're all deluded, vainly ſearching ways,
To make us happy by the length of days;
For cunningly, to make's protract this breath,
The gods conceal the happineſs of death.

There be many excellent ſtrains in that poet, wherewith his ſtoical genius hath liberally ſupplyed him; and truly there are ſingular pieces in the philoſophy of Zeno, and doctrine of the ſtoicks, which I perceive, delivered in a pulpit, paſs for current divinity; yet herein are they in extreams, that can allow a man to be his own Aſſaſſine, and ſo highly extol the end and ſuicide of Cato, this is indeed not to fear death, but yet to be afraid of

of life. It is a brave act of valour to contemn death, but where life is more terrible than death, it is then the trueſt valour to dare to live, and herein religion hath taught us a noble example: For all the valiant acts of Curtius, Scevola or Codrus, do not parallel or match that one of Job; and ſure there is no torture to the rack of a diſeaſe, nor any poinyards in death itſelf like thoſe in the way or prologue unto it. *Emori nolo, ſed me eſſe mortuum nihil curo*, I would not dye, but care not to be dead. Were I of Cæſar's religion I ſhould be of his deſires, and wiſh rather to go off at one blow, than to be ſawed in pieces by the grating torture of a diſeaſe. Men that look no further than their outſides think health an appurtinance unto life, and quarrel with their conſtitutions for being ſick; but I who have examined the parts of man, and know upon what

what tender filaments that fabrick hangs, do wonder that we are not always ſo; and conſidering the thouſand doors that lead to death do thank my God that we can dye but once. 'Tis not only the miſchief of diſeaſes, and the villany of poiſons that make an end of us; we vainly accuſe the fury of guns, and the new inventions of death; 'Tis in the power of every hand to deſtroy us, and we are beholden unto every one we meet that he doth not kill us. There is therefore but one comfort left, that tho' it be in the power of the weakeſt arm to take away life, it is not in the ſtrongeſt to deprive us of death: God would not exempt himſelf from that: the miſery of immortality in the fleſh, he undertook not what was in it immortal. Certainly there is no happineſs within this circle of fleſh, nor is it in the opticks of theſe eyes to behold felicity; the firſt day of our

our jubilee is death; the devil hath therefore failed of his desires; we are happier with death than we should be without it: There is no misery but in himself where there is no end of misery; and so indeed in his own sense, the stoick is in the right. He forgets that he can dye who complains of misery, we are in the power of no calamity while death is in our own.

SECT. XLV.

Now besides this literal and positive kind of death, there are others wherein divines make mention, and those, I think, not meerly metaphorical, as mortification, dying unto sin and the world; therefore, I say, every man hath a double horoscope, one of his humanity, his birth; another of his christianity, his baptism; and from this do I compute or calculate my nativity, not reckoning those *horæ combustæ*,

combuſtæ, and odd days, or eſteeming myſelf any thing, before I was my Saviour's, and inrolled in the regiſter of Chriſt: whoſoever enjoys not this life, I count him but an apparition, tho' he wear about him the ſenſible affections of fleſh. In theſe moral acceptations, the way to be immortal is to dye daily; nor can I think I have the true theory of death, when I contemplate a ſkull, or behold a ſkeleton with thoſe vulgar imaginations it caſts upon us; I have therefore enlarged that common *memento mori*, into a more Chriſtian memorandum, *memento quatuor novissima*: thoſe four inevitable points of us all, death, judgment, heaven and hell. Neither did the contemplations of the Heathens reſt in their graves, without a further thought of * Radamanthus, or ſome judicial proceeding after death, tho' in another way, and upon ſuggeſtion of their

their natural reaſons. I cannot but marvel from what ſibyl or oracle they ſtole the propheſy of the world's deſtruction by * fire, or whence Lucan learned to ſay,

Communis mundo ſuperest rogus, oſſibus aſtra
Miſturus.--------

There yet remains to th' world one common fire,
Wherein our bones with ſtars ſhall make one pyre.

I believe the world grows nearer its end, yet is neither old nor decayed, nor will ever periſh upon the ruins of its own principles. As the work of creation was above nature, ſo is its adverſary, annihilation; without which the world hath not its end, but its mutation. Now what force ſhould be able to conſume it thus far, without the breath of God, which is the trueſt conſuming flame, my philoſophy cannot inform me. Some believe there went not a minute to the world's creation nor ſhall there go to its

deſtruction; thoſe ſix days, ſo punctually deſcribed, make not to them one moment, but rather ſeem to manifeſt the method and idea of the great work of the intellect of God, than the manner how he proceeded in its operation. I cannot dream that there ſhould be at the laſt day any ſuch judicial proceeding, or calling to the bar, as indeed the ſcripture ſeems to imply, and the literal commentators do conceive: for unſpeakable myſteries in the ſcriptures are often delivered in a vulgar and illuſtrative way; and being written unto man, are delivered, not as they truly are, but as they may be underſtood; wherein notwithſtanding, the different interpretations, according to different capacities, may ſtand firm with our devotion, nor be any way prejudicial to the edification of each individual.

SECT.

SECT. XLVI.

Now to determine the day and year of this inevitable time, is not only invincible and ſtatute madneſs, but alſo manifeſt impiety; how ſhall we interpret Elias's * 6000 years, or imagine the ſecret communicated to a Rabbi which God hath denied unto his angels? It had been an excellent query to have poſed the devil of Delphos, and muſt needs have forced him to ſome ſtrange amphibology; it hath not only mocked the predictions of ſundry aſtrologers in ages paſt, but the propheſies of many melancholy heads in the preſent; who, neither underſtanding reaſonably things paſt or preſent, pretend a knowledge of things to come; heads ordained only to manifeſt the incredible effects of melancholy, and fulfil old propheſies, rather than be the authors of new. [In thoſe days there ſhall come wars and rumours

mours of wars,[a] to me ſeems no propheſy, but a conſtant truth, in all times verified ſince it was pronounced. There ſhall be ſigns in the moon and ſtars, how comes he then like a thief in the night[b], when he gives an item of his coming? That common ſign drawn from the revelation of Antichriſt, is as obſcure as any; in our computation he hath been come theſe many years; but, for my own part, to ſpeak freely, I am half of opinion that antichriſt is the philoſophers ſtone in divinity, for the diſcovery and invention of which, tho' there be preſcribed rules, and probable inductions, yet hardly hath any man attained the perfect diſcovery thereof. That general opinion, that the world grows near its end,

[a] Mat. xxiv. 11. In thoſe days there ſhall come lyars and falſe prophets.

Mat. xxiv. 6. and Mark. xiii. 7.

[b] 2 Pet. iii. 10.

end, hath poſſeſſed all ages paſt as much as ours; I am afraid that the ſouls that now depart cannot eſcape that lingering expoſtulation of the ſaints under the altar, *Quouſque Domine? How long, O Lord?* and groan in the expectation of that great jubilee.

SECT. XLVII.

This is the day that muſt make good that great atribute of God, his juſtice; that muſt reconcile thoſe unanſwerable doubts that torment the wiſeſt underſtandings, and reduce thoſe ſeeming inequalities, and reſpective diſtributions in this world, to an equality and recompenſive juſtice in the next. This is that one day, that ſhall include and comprehend all that went before it; wherein, as in the laſt ſcene, all the actors muſt enter to compleat and make up the cataſtrophe of this great piece. This is the

day

day whoſe memory hath only power to make us honeſt in the dark, and to be virtuous without a witneſs. *Ipſa ſui pretium virtus ſibi*, that virtue is her own reward, is but a* cold principle, and not able to mantain our variable reſolutions in a conſtant and ſettled way of goodneſs. I have practiſed that honeſt †artifice of Seneca, and in my retired and ſolitary imaginations, to reſtrain me from the foulneſs of vice, have fancied to myſelf the preſence of my dear and worthieſt friends, before whom I ſhould loſe my head rather than be vitious; yet herein I found that there was nought but moral honeſty, and this was not to be virtuous for his ſake who muſt reward us at the laſt. I have tried if I could reach that great ‡ reſolution of his, to be honeſt without a thought of heaven or hell; and indeed I found, upon a natural inclination and in-bred loyalty unto vir-

tue,

tue, that I could ſerve her without a livery; yet not in that reſolved and venerable way, but that the frailty of my nature, upon an eaſy temptation, might be induced to forget her. The life therefore, and ſpirit of all our actions, is the reſurrection, and a ſtable apprehenſion that our aſhes ſhall enjoy the fruit of our pious endeavours; without this all religion is a fallacy, and thoſe impieties of Lucian, Euripides and Julian, are no blaſphemies, but ſubtile verities, and atheiſts have been the only philoſophers.

SECT. XLVIII.

How the dead ſhall ariſe, is no queſtion of my faith; to believe only poſſibilities, is not faith, but meer philoſophy; many things are true in divinity, which are neither inducible by reaſon, nor confirmable by ſenſe, and many things in philoſophy

losophy confirmable by ſenſe, yet not inducible by reaſon. Thus it is impoſſible, by any ſolid or demonſtrative reaſons to perſuade a man to believe the converſion of the needle to the north; tho' this be poſſible, and true, and eaſily credible, upon a ſingle experiment unto the ſenſe. I believe that our eſtranged and divided aſhes ſhall unite again; that our ſeparated duſt, after ſo many pilgrimages and tranſformations into the parts of minerals, plants, animals, elements, ſhall at the voice of God return into their primitive ſhapes; and join again to make up their primary and predeſtinate forms. As at the creation, there was a ſeparation of that confuſed maſs into its ſpecies; ſo, at the deſtruction thereof, there ſhall be a ſeparation into its diſtinct individuals. As at the creation of the world, all the diſtinct ſpecies that we behold lay involved in one maſs,

maſs, till the fruitful voice of God ſeparated this united multitude into its ſeveral ſpecies; ſo at the laſt day, when theſe corrupted reliques ſhall be ſcattered in the wilderneſs of forms, and ſeem to have forgot their proper habits, God by a powerfull voice ſhall * command them back into their proper ſhapes, and call them out by their ſingle individuals: then ſhall appear the fertilitie of Adam, and the magick of of that ſperm that hath dilated into ſo many millions. I have often beheld, as a miracle, that artificial reſurrection and revivification of mercury; how being mortified into a thouſand ſhapes, it aſſumes again its own, and returns into its numerical ſelf. Let us ſpeak naturally, and like philoſophers, the forms of alterable bodies in theſe ſenſible corruptions periſh not; nor, as we imagine, wholly quit their manſions, but retire and contract

themſelves into their ſecret and inacceſſible parts, where they may beſt protect themſelves from the action of their antagoniſt. A plant or vegetable conſumed to aſhes, to to a contemplative and ſchool-philoſopher ſeems utterly deſtroyed, and the form to have taken its leave for ever: But to a ſenſible artiſt the forms are not periſhed, but withdrawn into their incombuſtible parts, where they lye ſecure from the action of that devouring element. *This is made good by experience, which can, from the aſhes of a plant, revive the plant, and, from its cinders, recal it into its ſtalk and leaves again. What the art of man can do in theſe inferiour pieces, what blaſphemy is it to affirm the finger of God cannot do in theſe more perfect and ſenſible ſtructures? This is that myſtical philoſophy, from whence no true ſcholar becomes an atheiſt; but from

from the viſible effects of nature, grows up a real divine, and beholds, not in a dream, as Ezekiel, but in an ocular and viſible object, the types of his reſurrection.

SECT. XLIX.

Now, the neceſſary manſions of our reſtored ſelves are thoſe two contrary and incompatible places we call heaven and hell; to define them, or ſtrictly to determine what and where theſe are, ſurpaſſeth my divinity. That elegant apoſtle, who ſeemed to have a glimpſe of heaven, hath left but a negative deſcription thereof; which [a] neither eye hath ſeen, nor ear hath heard, nor can it enter into the heart of man to conceive: he was tranſlated out of himſelf to behold it, but, being returned [b] into himſelf, could not expreſs it. St. John's deſcription, by

[a] 1 Cor. ii 9.

[b] Rev. xxi.

by emeralds, chryſolites, and precious ſtones, is too weak to expreſs the material heaven we behold. Briefly therefore, where the ſoul hath the full meaſure, and complement of happineſs, where the boundleſs appetite of that ſpirit remains compleatly ſatisfied, that it can neither deſire addition nor alteration, that I think is truly heaven: and this can only be in the enjoyment of that eſſence, whoſe infinite goodneſs is able to terminate the deſires of itſelf, and the inſatiable wiſhes of ours; wherever God will thus manifeſt himſelf, there is heaven, tho' within the circle of this ſenſible world. Thus the ſoul of man may be in heaven any where, even within the limits of his own proper body, and when it ceaſeth to live in the body, it may remain in its own ſoul, that is its ceator. And thus we may ſay that St. Paul, whether in the body, or out of the body,

body, was yet in heaven. To place it in the empyreal, or beyond the tenth ſphere, is to forget the world's deſtruction; for when this ſenſible world ſhall be deſtroyed, all ſhall then be here as it is now there, an empyreal heaven, a *quaſi vacuum*; when to aſk where heaven is, is to demand where the preſence of God is, or where we have the glory of that happy viſion. Moſes, who was bred up in all the learning of the Egyptians, committed a groſs abſurdity in philoſophy, when with theſe eyes of fleſh [a] he deſired to ſee God, and petitioned his maker, that is truth itſelf, to a contradiction. Thoſe that imagine heaven and hell neighbours, and conceive a vicinity between thoſe two extremes, upon conſequence of the parable, where [b] Dives diſcourſed with Lazarus in Abraham's boſom, do too groſsly

[a] Exod iii 4.

[b] Luke. xvi. 19

groſsly conceive of thoſe glorified creatures, whoſe eyes ſhall eaſily out-ſee the ſun, and behold, without a perſpective, the extremeſt diſtances: for if there ſhall be in our glorified eyes, the faculty of ſight and reception of objects, I could think the viſible ſpecies there to be in as unlimitable a way as now the intellectual. I grant that two bodies placed beyond the tenth ſphere, or in a vacuity, according to Ariſtotle's philoſophy, could not behold each other; becauſe their wants a body or *medium* to hand and tranſport the viſibly rays of the object unto the ſenſe; but when there ſhall be a general defect of either *medium* to convey, or light to prepare and diſpoſe that *medium*, and yet a perfect viſion, we muſt ſuſpend the rules of our philoſophy, and make all good by a more abſolute piece of opticks.

SECT.

SECT. L.

I cannot tell how to ſay that fire is the eſſence of hell; I know not what to make of purgatory, or conceive a flame that can either prey upon, or purify the ſubſtance of a ſoul: thoſe flames of ſulphur mentioned in the ſcriptures I take not to be underſtood of this preſent hell, but of that to come, where fire ſhall make up the complement of our tortures, and have a body or ſubject wherein to manifeſt its tyranny. Some, who have had the honour to be textuary in divinity, are of opinion it ſhall be the ſame ſpecifical fire with ours; this is hard to conceive, yet can I make good how even that may prey upon our bodies, and yet not conſume us: for in this material world, there are bodies that perſiſt invincible in the powerfulleſt flames, and tho' by the action of fire they fall into ignition and liquation, yet will

will they never ſuffer a deſtruction. I would gladly know how Moſes, with an actual fire, calcined, or burnt the golden calf into powder: for that myſtical mettle of gold, whoſe ſolary and celeſtial nature I admire, expoſed unto the violence of fire, grows only hot and liquifies, but conſumeth not; ſo when the conſumable and volatile pieces of our bodies ſhall be refined into a more impregnable and fixed temper like gold, tho' they ſuffer from the action of flames, they ſhall never periſh, but lye immortal in the arms of fire. And ſurely if this frame muſt ſuffer only by the action of this element, there will many bodies eſcape, and not only heaven, but earth will not be at an end, but rather a beginning; for at preſent it is not earth, but a compoſition of fire, water, earth and air; but at that time ſpoiled of theſe ingredients, it ſhall appear in a ſub-

ſtance

ſtance more like itſelf, its aſhes. Philoſophers who maintained the world's deſtruction by fire, did never dream of annihilation, which is beyond the power of ſublunary cauſes; for the laſt and proper action of that element is but vitrification, or a reduction of a body into glaſs; and therefore ſome of our chymiſts facetiouſly affirm, that at the laſt fire all ſhall be cryſtallized and reverberated into glaſs, which is the utmoſt action of that element. Nor need we fear this term [annihilation], or wonder that God will deſtroy the works of his creation: for man ſubſiſting, who is, and will then truly appear a microſme, the world cannot be ſaid to be deſtroyed. For the eyes of God, and perhaps alſo of our glorified ſelves, ſhall as really behold and contemplate the world in its epitome, or contracted eſſence, as now it doth at large and in its di-

lated ſubſtance. In the ſeed of a plant to the eyes of God, and to the underſtanding of man, there exiſts, tho' in an inviſible way, the perfect leaves, flowers, and fruit thereof: for things that are *in poſſe* to the ſenſe, are actually exiſtent to the underſtanding. Thus God beholds all things, who contemplates as fully his works in their epitome, as in their full volume, and beheld as amply the whole world in that little compendium of the ſixth day, as in the ſcattered and dilated pieces of thoſe five before.

SECT. LI.

Men commonly ſet forth the torments of hell by fire, and the extremity of corporal afflictions, and deſcribe hell in the ſame method that Mahomet doth heaven. This indeed makes a noiſe, and drums in popular ears: but if this be the terrible

rible piece thereof, it is not worthy to ſtand in diameter with heaven, whoſe happineſs conſiſts in that part that is beſt able to comprehend it, that immortal eſſence, that tranſlated divinity and colony of God, the ſoul. Surely tho' we place hell under earth, the devil's walk and purlieu is about it; men ſpeak too popularly who place it in thoſe flaming mountains, which to groſſer apprehenſions repreſent hell. The heart of man is the place the devil dwells in: I feel ſometimes a hell within myſelf: Lucifer keeps his court within my breaſt, Legion is revived in me. There are as many hells as * Anaxagoras conceited worlds; there was more than one hell in Magdalen, when there were ſeven devils; for every devil is an hell unto himſelf: he holds enough of torture in his own *ubi*, and needs not the miſery of circumference to afflict him.

And

And thus a diſtracted conſcience here, is a ſhadow or introduction unto hell hereafter. Who can but pity the merciful intention of thoſe hands that do deſtroy themſelves? The devil, were it in his power would do the like; which being impoſſible his miſeries are endleſs, and he ſuffers moſt in that attribute wherein he is impaſſible, his immortality.

SECT. LII.

I thank God, and with joy I mention it, I was never afraid of hell, nor never grew pale at the deſcription of that place; I have ſo fixed my contemplations on heaven, that I have almoſt forgot the idea of hell, and am afraid rather to loſe the joys of the one than endure the miſery of the other; to be deprived of them is a perfect hell, and needs, methinks, no addition to compleat our afflictions; that

that terrible term hath never detained me from ſin, nor do I owe any good action to the name thereof: I fear God, yet am not afraid of him; his mercies make me aſhamed of my ſins, before his judgments make me afraid thereof: theſe are the forced and ſecondary methods of his wiſdom, which he uſeth but as the laſt remedy, and upon provocation; a courſe rather to deter the wicked, than incite the virtuous to his worſhip. I can hardly think there was ever any ſcared into heaven; they go the faireſt way to heaven, that would ſerve God without a hell; other mercenaries that crouch unto him in fear of hell, though they term themſelves the ſervants, are indeed but the ſlaves of the Almighty.

SECT. LIII.

And to be true, and ſpeak my ſoul, when I ſurvey the occurrences of my

my life, and call into account the finger of God, I can perceive nothing but an abyſs and maſs of mercies, either in general to mankind, or in particular to myſelf; and whether out of the prejudice of my affection, or an inverting and partial conceit of his mercies, I know not; but thoſe things which others term croſſes, afflictions, judgments, miſfortunes, to me who enquire farther into them than their viſible effects, they both appear, and in event have ever proved, the ſecret and diſſembled favours of his affection. It is a ſingular piece of wiſdom to apprehend truly, and without paſſion, the works of God, and ſo well to diſtinguiſh his juſtice from his mercy, as not to miſtake thoſe noble attributes: yet it is likewiſe an honeſt piece of logick ſo to diſpute and argue the proceedings of God, as to diſtinguiſh even his judgments into mercies

cies. For God is merciful unto all, becauſe better to the worſt than the beſt deſerve, and to ſay he puniſheth none in this world, tho' it be a paradox, is no abſurdity. To one that hath committed murder, if the judge ſhould only ordain a fine, it were madneſs to call this a puniſhment, and to repine at the ſentence, rather than admire the clemency of the judge. Thus our offences being mortal, and deſerving not only death, but damnation, if the goodneſs of God be content to traverſe and paſs them over with a loſs, misfortune, or diſeaſe; what frenzy were it to term this a puniſhment, rather than an extremity of mercy, and to groan under the rod of his judgments, rather than admire the ſcepter of his mercies? therefore to adore, honour, and admire him, is a debt of gratitude due from the obligation of our nature, ſtates, and conditions; and

with

with theſe thoughts; he that knows them beſt will not deny that I adore him; That I obtain heaven, and the bliſs thereof, is accidental, and not the intended work of my devotion, it being a felicity I can neither think to deſerve, nor ſcarce in modeſty to expect. For theſe two ends of us all, either as rewards or puniſhments, are mercifully ordained and diſproportionally diſpoſed unto our actions, the one being ſo far beyond our deſerts, the other ſo infinitly below our demerits.

SECT. LIV.

There is no ſalvation to thoſe that believe not in Chriſt; that is, ſay ſome, ſince his nativity, and as divinity affirmeth, before alſo; which makes me much apprehend the end of thoſe honeſt worthies and philoſophers who dyed before his incarnation. * It is hard to place

place thoſe ſouls in hell whoſe worthy lives do teach us virtue on earth: methinks, amongſt thoſe many ſubdiviſions of hell, there might have been one limbo left for theſe: what a ſtrange viſion will it be to ſee their poetical fictions converted into verities, and their imagined and fancied furies into real devils? How ſtrange to them will ſound the hiſtory of Adam, when they ſhall ſuffer for him they never heard of? When they who derive their genealogy, from the gods, ſhall know they are the unhappy iſſue of ſinful man? It is an inſolent part of reaſon to controvert the works of God, or queſtion the juſtice of his proceedings; could humility teach others, as it hath inſtructed me, to contemplate the infinite and incomprehenſible diſtance betwixt the Creator and the creature, or did we ſeriouſly perpend that one ſimile

of St. Paul[a], *Shall the veſſel ſay to the potter, Why haſt thou made me thus?* it would prevent theſe arrogant diſputes of reaſon, nor would we argue the definitive ſentence of God, either to heaven or hell. Men that live according to the right rule and law of reaſon, live but in their own kind, as beaſts do in theirs; who juſtly obey the preſcript of their natures; and therefore cannot reaſonably demand a reward of their actions, as only obeying the natural dictates of their reaſon. It will therefore, and muſt at laſt appear, that all ſalvation is thro' Chriſt; which verity I fear theſe great examples of virtue muſt confirm *, and make it good, how the perfecteſt actions of earth have no title or claim unto heaven.

SECT.

[a] Rom. ix. 20.

SECT. LV.

Nor truly do I think the lives of theſe or of any other were ever correſpondent, or in all points conformable unto their doctrines. It is evident that * Ariſtotle tranſgreſſed the rule of his own ethicks: The Stoicks who condemn paſſion, and command a man to laugh in Phalaris's bull, could not endure without a groan a fit of the ſtone or cholick. † The Scepticks, that affirmed they knew nothing, even in that opinion confute themſelves, and thought they knew more than all the world beſide. Diogenes I hold to be the moſt vain glorious man of his time, and more ambitions in refuſing all honours than Alexander in rejecting none. Vice and the devil putting a fallacy upon our reaſons, and provoking us too haſtily to run fromit, entangle and ſink us deeper into it. * The Duke of Venice, who weds himſelf unto the

the ſea by a ring of gold, I will not accuſe of prodigality, becauſe it is a ſolemnity of good uſe and conſequence in the ſtate: † But the philoſopher who threw his money into the ſea to avoid avarice, was a notorious prodigal. There is no road or ready way to virtue; it is not an eaſy point of art to diſentangle ourſelves from this riddle, or web of ſin: To perfect virtue, as to religion, there is required a panoplia, or compleat armour, that whilſt we lye at cloſe ward againſt one vice, we may not lye open to another: And indeed wiſer diſcretions, that have the thread of reaſon to conduct them, offend without a pardon; whereas weaker heads may ſtumble without diſhonour. There go ſo many circumſtances to piece up one good action, that it is a leſſon to be good, and we are forced to be virtuous by the book. Again, the practice of

of men holds not an equal pace, yea, and often runs counter to their theory: We naturally know what is good, but naturally purſue what is evil. The rhetorick wherewith I perſuade another cannot perſuade myſelf: There is a depraved appetite in us, that will with patience hear the learned inſtructions of reaſon; but yet perform no farther than agrees to its own irregular humour. In brief, we all are monſters, that is, a compoſition of man and beaſt; wherein we muſt endeavour to be as the poets fancy that wiſe man * Chiron, that is to have the region of man above that of beaſt, and ſenſe to ſit but at the feet of reaſon. Laſtly, I do deſire with God that all, but yet affirm with men that few, ſhall know ſalvation; that the bridge is narrow, the paſſage ſtrait unto life; yet thoſe who do confine the church of God either to particular nations,

ons, churches, or families, have made it far narrower than our Saviour ever meant it.

SECT. LVI.

The vulgar judgments that wrap the church of God in Strabo's cloak and reſtrain it unto Europe, ſeem to me as bad geographers as Alexander, who thought he had conquer'd all the world when he had not ſubdued the half of any part thereof: For we cannot deny the church of God both in Aſia and Africa, if we do not forget the peregrinations of the apoſtles, the deaths of the martyrs, the ſeſſions of many, and, even in our reformed judgment, lawful councils held in thoſe parts in the minoritie and non-age of ours; nor muſt a few differences, more remarkable in the eyes of man than perhaps in the judgment of God, excommunicate from heaven one another, much leſs thoſe

thoſe

thoſe chriſtians who are in a manner all martyrs, maintaing their faith in the noble way of perſecution, and ſerving God in the fire; whereas we honour him but in the ſunſhine. 'Tis true we all hold there is a number of elect and many to to be ſaved, yet take our opinions together, and, from the confuſion thereof, there will be no ſuch thing as ſalvation, nor ſhall any one be ſaved; for firſt the church of Rome condemneth us, we likewiſe them; the ſub-reformiſts and ſectaries ſentence the doctrine of our church as damnable, the atomiſt, or familiſt reprobates all theſe, and all theſe them again. Thus whilſt the mercies of God doth promiſe us heaven, our conceits and opinions exclude us from that place. There muſt be therefore more than one St. Peter; particular churches and ſects uſurp the gates of heaven and turn the key

againſt.

againſt each other; and thus we go to heaven againſt each others wills, conceits and opinions, and, with as much uncharity as ignorance, do err I fear in points, not only of our own, but one, another's ſalvation.

SECT. LVII.

I believe many are ſaved who to man ſeem reprobated, and many are reprobated, who, in the opinion and ſentence of man, ſtand elected: their will appear at the laſt day, ſtrange, and unexpected examples, both of his juſtice and his mercy; and therefore to define either, is folly in man, and inſolency, even in the devils: thoſe acute and and ſubtile ſpirits, in all their ſagacity, can hardly divine who ſhall be ſaved, which if they could prognoſtick, their labour were at an end; nor need they compaſs the earth, ſeeking whom they may devour.

Thoſe

Thoſe who, upon a rigid application of the law, ſentence Solomon unto damnation, condemn not only him, himſelves, and the whole world; for by the letter, and written word of God, we are without exception in the ſtate of death; but there is a prerogative of God, and an arbitrary pleaſure above the letter of his own law, by which alone we can pretend unto ſalvation, and thro' which ſolomon might be as eaſily ſaved as thoſe who condemn him.

SECT. LVIII.

The number of thoſe who pretend unto ſalvation, and thoſe infinite ſwarms who think to paſs thro' the eye of this needle, have much amazed me. That name, and compellation of little flock, doth not comfort but deject my devotion, eſpecially, when I reflect upon mine own unworthineſs, wherein, according to

my humble apprehenſions, I am below them all. I believe there ſhall never be an anarchy in heaven, but as there are hierarchies amonſt the angels, ſo ſhall there be degrees of priority amongſt the ſaints. Yet is it (I proteſt) beyond my ambition to aſpire unto the firſt ranks, my deſires only are, and I ſhall be happy therein, to be but the laſt man, and bring up the rear in heaven.

SECT. LIX.

Again, I am confident, and fully perſwaded, yet dare not take my oath of my ſalvation; I am as it were ſure, and do believe, without all doubt, that there is ſuch a city as Conſtantinople, yet for me to take my oath thereon, were a kind of perjury, becauſe I hold no infallible warrant from my own ſenſe to confirm me in the certainty thereof. And truly, tho' many pre-

tend

tend an abſolute certainty of their ſalvation, yet when an humble ſoul ſhall contemplate her own unworthineſs, ſhe ſhall meet with many doubts, and ſuddenly find how little we ſtand in need of the precept of St. *Paul* [a], *Work out your own ſalvation with fear and trembling*. That which is the cauſe of my election, I hold to be the cauſe of my ſalvation, which was the mercy, and beneplacit of God, before I was, or the foundation of the world. *Before Abraham was, I AM* [b], is the ſaying of Chriſt, yet it is true in ſome ſenſe if I ſay it of myſelf, for I was not only before myſelf, but Adam; that is in the idea of God, and the decree of that ſynod held from all eternity. And in this ſenſe, I ſay, the world was before the creation, and at an end before it had a beginning; and thus was I dead before I was alive, tho'

[a] Philp. ii. 12.

[b] John viii. 58.

tho' my grave be in England, my dying place was in paradiſe, and Eve miſcarried of me before ſhe conceiv'd of Cain.

SECT. LX.

Inſolent zealots, that do decry good works and rely only upon faith, take not away merit: for depending upon the efficacy of their faith, they enforce the condition of God, and in a more ſophiſtical way do ſeem to challenge heaven. It was decreed by God, that only thoſe that lapt in the water like dogs ſhould have the honour to dedeſtroy the Midianites; yet could none of thoſe juſtly challenge, or imagine he deſerved that honour thereupon. I do not deny, but that true faith, and ſuch as God requires, is not only a mark or token, but alſo a means of our ſalvation; but where to find this, is as obſcure to me, as my laſt end. And if our

our Saviour could object unto his own disciples, and favourites, a faith, that, to the quantity of a grain of mustard seed, is able to remove mountains; surely that which we boast of is not any thing, or at the least, but a remove from nothing. This is the tenor of my belief, wherein, tho' there be many things singular, and to the humour of my irregular self, yet, if they square not with maturer judgments I disclaim them, and do no further father them than the learned and best judgements shall authorize them.

The

The SECOND PART.

SECT. I.

NOW for that other virtue of charity, without which faith is a meer notion, and of no existence, I have ever endeavoured to nouriſh the merciful diſpoſition, and humane inclination I borrowed from my parents, and regulate it to the written and preſcribed laws of charity; and if I hold the true anatomy of myſelf, I am delineated and naturally framed to ſuch a piece of virtue: for I am of a conſtitution ſo general, that it conſorts, and ſympathizeth with all things; I have no antipathy, or rather idio-ſyncraſy, in dyet, humour, air, or in any thing; I wonder not at the French, for their diſhes of frogs, ſnails and toadſtools, nor at the Jews for locuſts and graſs-

hoppers;

hoppers; but being amongſt them, make them my common viands; and I find they agree with my ſtomach as well as theirs. I could digeſt a ſalad gathered in a churchyard, as well as in a garden. I cannot ſtart at the preſence of a ſerpent, ſcorpion, lizard, or ſalamander: at the ſight of a toad, or viper, I find in me no deſire to take up a ſtone to deſtroy them. I feel not in myſelf thoſe common antipathies that I can diſcover in others: Thoſe national repugnances do not touch me, nor do I behold with prejudice the French, Italian, Spaniard, or Dutch; but where I find their actions in balance with my countrymens, I honour, love, and embrace them in the ſame degree. I was born in the eighth climate, but ſeems to be framed for, and conſtellated unto all: I am no plant that will not proſper out of a garden. All places, all airs make

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unto me one country; I am in England every where, and under any meridian; I have been ſhipwreckt, yet am not in enmity with the ſea or winds; I can ſtudy, play, or ſleep in a tempeſt. In brief, I am averſe from nothing; my conſcience would give me the lye if I ſhould ſay I abſolutely deteſt or hate any eſſence but the devil, or ſo at leaſt abhor any thing but that we might come to compoſition. If there be anything among thoſe common objects of hatred I do contemn and laugh at, it is that great enemy of reaſon, virtue and religion, the multitude; that numerous piece of monſtroſity, which taken aſunder ſeem men, and the reaſonable creatures of God; but confuſed together, make but one great beaſt, and a monſtroſity more prodigious than Hydra: it is no breach of charity to call theſe fools; it is the ſtyle all holy writers have afforded

afforded them, ſet down by Solomon in canonical ſcripture, and a point of our faith to believe ſo. Neither in the name of multitude do I only include the baſe and meaner ſort of people; there is a rabble even amongſt the gentry, a ſort of plebeian heads, whoſe fancy moves with the ſame wheel as theſe; men in the ſame level with mechanicks, tho' their fortunes do ſomewhat gild their infirmities, and their purſes compound for their follies. But as in caſting account, three or four men together come ſhort in reſpect of one man placed by himſelf below them; ſo neither are a troop of theſe ignorant Dorados, of that true eſteem and value, as many a forlorn perſon, whoſe condition doth place him below their feet. Let us ſpeak like politicians, there is a nobility without heraldry, a natural dignity, whereby one man is ranked with another,

ther, another filed before him, according to the quality of his deſert, and pre-eminence of his good parts. Though the corruption of theſe times, and the bias of preſent practice wheel another way, thus it was in the firſt and primitive commonwealths, and is yet in the integrity and cradle of well-ordered polities, till corruption getting ground, ruder deſires labouring after that which wiſer conſiderations contemn, every one had a liberty to amaſs and heap up riches, and theſe a licenſe or faculty to do or purchaſe any thing.

SECT. II.

This general and indifferent temper of mine, doth more nearly diſpoſe me to this noble virtue. It is a happineſs to be born and framed unto virtue, and to grow up from the ſeeds of nature, rather than the inoculation and forced graffs

graffs of education; yet if we are directed only by our particular natures, and regulate our inclinations by no higher rule than that of our reaſons, we are but moraliſts; divinity will ſtill call us Heathens. Therefore this great work of charity, muſt have other motives, ends and impulſions: I give no alms to ſatisfy the hunger of my brother, but to fulfil and accompliſh the will and command of my God; I draw not my purſe for his ſake that demands it, but his that enjoined it; I relieve no man upon the rhetorick of his own miſeries, to content mine own commiſerating diſpoſition, for this is ſtill but moral charity, and an act that oweth more to paſſion than reaſon. He that relieves another upon the bare ſuggeſtion and bowels of pity, doth not this ſo much for his ſake, as for his own: for by compaſſion we make another's miſery our own,

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and ſo by relieving them, we relieve ourſelves alſo. It is as erroneous a conceit to redreſs other mens misfortunes upon the common conſideration of merciful natures, that it may be one day our own caſe; for this is a ſiniſter and politick kind of charity, whereby we ſeem to beſpeak the pities of men, on the like occaſions: and truly I have obſerved that thoſe profeſſed Eleemoſynaries, tho' in a croud or multitude, do yet direct and place their petitions on a few and ſelected perſons; there is ſurely a phyſiognomy, which thoſe experienced and maſter mendicants obſerve, whereby they inſtantly diſcover a merciful aſpect, and will ſingle out a face, wherein they ſpy the ſignatures and marks of mercy: for there are myſtically in our faces certain characters which carry in them the motto of our ſouls, wherein he that cannot read A, B, C, may read

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our natures. I hold moreover that there is a phytognomy, or phyſiognomy, not only of men, but of plants and vegetables; and in every one of them, ſome outward figures which hang as ſigns or badges of their inward forms. The finger of God hath left an inſcription upon all his works, not graphical or compoſed of letters, but of their ſeveral forms, conſtitutions, parts and operations, which aptly joined together do make one word that doth expreſs their natures. By theſe letters God calls the ſtars by their names, and by this alphabet Adam aſſigned to every creature a name peculiar to its nature. Now there are beſides theſe characters in our faces, certain myſtical figures in our hands, which I dare not call meer daſhes, ſtrokes, *a la volee*, or at random, becauſe delineated by a pencill, that never works in vain; and hereof I take more particular notice,

notice, becauſe I carry that in mine own hand, which I could never read of, nor diſcover in another. Ariſtotle, I confeſs, in his acute, and ſingular book of phyſiognomy, hath made no mention of Chiromancy, yet I believe the Egyptains, who were more addicted to thoſe abſtruſe and myſtical ſciences, had a knowledge therein, to which thoſe vagabond and counterfeit Egyptians did after pretend, and perhaps retained a few corrupted principles, which ſometimes might verify their prognoſticks.

It is the common wonder of all men, how among ſo many millions of faces, there ſhould be none alike; now on the contrary, I wonder as much how there ſhould be any; he that ſhall conſider how many thouſand ſeveral words have been careleſsly and without ſtudy compoſed out of twenty-four letters; withall how many hundred lines there are

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to be drawn in the fabrick of one man, ſhall eaſily find that this variety is neceſſary: and it will be very hard that they ſhall ſo concur as to make one portrait like another. Let a painter careleſsly limn out a million of faces, and you ſhall find them all different; yea let him have his copy before him, yet after all his art there will remain a ſenſible diſtinction; for the pattern or example of every thing is the perfecteſt in that kind, whereof we ſtill come ſhort, tho' we tranſcend or go beyond it; becauſe herein it is wide and agrees not in all points unto its copy. Nor doth the ſimilitude of creatures diſparage the variety of nature, nor any way confound the works of God. For even in things alike, there is diverſitie, and thoſe that do ſeem to accord, do manifeſtly diſagree. And thus is man like God, for in the ſame things that we reſemble him,

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we are utterly different from him. There was never any thing ſo like another, as in all points to concur; there will ever ſome reſerved difference ſlip in, to prevent the identity, without which, two ſeveral things would not be alike, but the ſame, which is impoſſible.

SECT. III.

But to return from philoſophy to charity: I hold not ſo narrow a conceit of this virtue as to conceive that to give alms, is only to be charitable, or think a piece of liberality can comprehend the total of charity. Divinity hath wiſely divided the act thereof into many branches, and hath taught us in this narrow way, many paths unto godneſs; as many ways as we may do good, ſo many ways we may be charitable; there are infirmities, not only of body, but of ſoul, and fortunes, which do require the

merciful

merciful hand of our abilities. I cannot condemn a man for his ignorance but behold him with as much pity as I do for Lazarus. It is no greater charity to cloath his body, than cover the nakedneſs of his ſoul. It is an honourable object to ſee the reaſons of other men wear our liveries, and their borrowed underſtandings do homage to the bounty of ours. It is the cheapeſt way of beneficence, and like the naturall charity of the ſun illuminates another without obſcuring itſelf. To be a ſcrub and niggard in this part of goodneſs, is the ſordideſt piece of covetouſneſs, and more contemptible than pecuniary avarice. To this (as calling myſelf a ſcholar) I am obliged by the duty of my condition: I make not therefore my head a grave, but a treaſure of knowledge; I intend no monopoly, but a community in learning; I ſtudy not for my own

ſake only, but for theirs that ſtudy not for themſelves. I envy no man that knows more than myſelf, but pity them that know leſs. I inſtruct no man as an exerciſe of my knowledge, or with an intent rather to nouriſh and keep it alive in mine own head, than beget and propagate it in his: and in the midſt of all my endeavours there is but one thought that dejects me, that my acquired parts muſt periſh with myſelf, nor can be bequeathed unto my honoured friends. I cannot fall out or contemn a man for an error, or conceive why a difference in opinion ſhould divide an affection: for controverſies, diſputes, and argumentations, both in philoſophy, and in divinity, if they meet with diſcreet and peaceable natures, do not infringe the lawes of charity: in all diſputes ſo much as there is of paſſion, ſo much there is of nothing

thing to the purpoſe; for then reaſon, like a bad hound ſpends, upon a falſe ſcent, and forſakes the queſtion firſt ſtarted. And this is one reaſon why controverſies are never determined, for tho' they be amply propoſed, they are ſcarce at all handled, they are ſo ſwelled with unneceſſary digreſſions; and the parentheſis on the party, is often as large as the main diſcourſe upon the ſubject. The foundations of religion are already eſtabliſhed, and the principles of ſalvation ſubſcribed unto by all; there remains not many controverſies worth a paſſion, and yet never any diſputed with out, not only in divinity, but in infeiour arts: What * a Βατραχομυομαχία, and hot ſkirmiſh is betwixt S. and T. in Lucian? how [a] doth grammarians hack and ſlaſh for the genitive caſe in Jupiter? How do they break their own pates to ſave that

[a] Whether Jovis or Jupiteris.

that of Priſcian? *Si foret in terris, rideret Democritus.* Yea, even among wiſer militants, how many wounds have been given, and beliefs ſlain for the poor victory of an opinion or beggarly conqueſt of a diſtinction? Scholars are men of peace, they bear no armes, but * their tongues are ſharper than Actius's razor, their pens carry farther, and give a louder report than thunder; I had rather ſtand in the ſhock of a baſiliſco than in the fury of a mercileſs pen. It is not meer zeal to learning, or devotion to the muſes, that wiſer princes patronize the arts, and carry an indulgent aſpect unto ſcholars, but a deſire to have their names eternized by the memory of their writings, and a fear of the revengeful pen of ſucceeding ages: for theſe are the men, that when they have played their parts, and have had their exits, muſt ſtep out and give the moral of their ſcenes,

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and deliver unto posterity an inventory of their virtues and vices. And surely there goes a great deal of conscience to the compiling of an history, there is no reproach to the scandal of a story; it is such an authentick kind of falsehood that with authority belies our good names to all nations and posterity.

SECT. IV.

There is another offence unto charity, which no author hath ever written of, and few taken notice of, and that's the reproach, not of whole professions, mysteries and conditions, but of whole nations, wherein by opprobrious epithets we miscall each other, and by an uncharitable logick from a disposition in a few conclude a habit in all.

Le mutin Anglois, et le bravache Escossois;
Le bougre Italien, et le fol Francois;
Le poltron Romain, le larron de Gascongne,
L' Espagnol superbe, et l' Alemain yrongue.

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St. Paul[a] that calls the Cretians liars, doth it but indirectly, and upon quotation of their own poet. *It is as bloody a thought in one way, as Nero's was in another. For by a word we wound a thousand, and at one blow aſſaſſin the honour of a Nation. It is as compleat a piece of madneſs to miſcal and rave againſt the times, or think to recal men to reaſon, by a fit of paſſion. Democritus, that thought to laugh the times into goodneſs, ſeems to me as deeply hyponchondriack, as Heraclitus that bewailed them; it moves not my ſpleen to behold the multitude in their proper humours, that is, in their fits of folly and madneſs, as well underſtanding that wiſdom is not profaned unto the world, and 'tis the privilege of a few to be virtuous. They that endeavour to aboliſh vice deſtroy alſo virtue; for contraries, though

[a] Tit. i. 12.

though they deſtroy one another, are yet in the life of one another. Thus virtue (aboliſh vice) is an idea; again, the community of ſin doth not diſparage goodneſs; for when vice gains upon the major part, virtue, in whom it remains, becomes more excellent, and being loſt in ſome, multiplies its goodneſs in others which remain untouched, and perſiſts intire in the general inundation. I can therefore behold vice without a ſatyr content only, with an admonition, or inſtructive reprehenſion; for noble natures, and ſuch as are capable of goodneſs, are railed into vice, that might as eaſily be admoniſhed into virtue; and we ſhould be all ſo far the orators of goodneſs, as to protect her from the power of vice, and maintain the cauſe of injured truth. No man can juſtly cenſure or condemn another, becauſe indeed no man truly

ly knows another. This I perceive in myſelf, for I am in the dark to all the world, and my neareſt friends behold me but in a cloud, thoſe that know me but ſuperficially, think leſs of me than I do of myſelf; thoſe of my near acquaintance think more; God, who truly knows me, knows that I am nothing; for he only beholds me and all the world, who looks not on us thro' a derived ray, or a trajection of a ſenſible ſpecies, but beholds the ſubſtance without the helps of accidents, and the forms of things, as we their operations. Further, no man can judge another, becauſe no man knows himſelf; for we cenſure others but as they diſagree from that humour which we fancy laudable in ourſelves, and commend others but for that wherein they ſeem to quadrate and conſent with us. So that in concluſion, all is but that we all condemn,

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ſelf-love. 'Tis the general complaint of theſe times, and perhaps of thoſe paſt, that charity grows cold; which I perceive moſt verified in thoſe which moſt do manifeſt the fires and flames of zeal; for it is a virtue that beſt agrees with coldeſt natures, and ſuch as are complexioned for humility: But how ſhall we expect charity towards others, when we are uncharitable to ourſelves? Charity begins at home, is the voice of the world, yet is every man his greateſt enemy, and as it were, his own executioner. *Non occides*, is the commandment of God, yet ſcarce obſerved by any man: for I perceive every man is his own *atropos*, and lends a hand to cut the thread of his own days. Cain was not therefore the firſt murderer, but Adam, who brought in death; whereof he beheld the practice and example in his own ſon Abel, and ſaw that verified in

the experience of another; which faith could not perſuade him of in the theory of himſelf.

SECT. V.

There is I think no man that apprehends his own miſeries leſs than myſelf, and no man that ſo nearly apprehends anothers. I could loſe an arm without a tear, and with few groans, methinks, be quartered into pieces; yet can I weep moſt ſeriouſly at a play, and receive with a true paſſion, the counterfeit griefs of thoſe known and profeſsed impoſtures. It is a barbarous part of inhumanity to add unto any afflicted party's miſery, or endeavour to multiply in any man, a paſſion, whoſe ſingle nature is already above his patience; this was the greateſt affliction of Job, and thoſe oblique expoſtulations of his friends a deeper injury than the down right blows of the devil. It

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is not the tears of our own eyes only, but of our friends alſo, that do exhauſt the current of our ſorrows, which falling into many ſtreams, run more peaceably, and is contented with a narrower channel. It is an act within the power of charity, to tranſlate a paſſion out of one breaſt into another, and to divide a ſorrow almoſt out of itſelf; for an affliction like a dimenſion may be ſo divided, as if not indiviſible, at leaſt to become inſenſible. Now with my friend I deſire not to ſhare or participate, but to engroſs his ſorrows, that by making them mine own, I may more eaſily diſcuſs them; for in mine own reaſon, and within myſelf I can command that, which I cannot entreat without myſelf, and within the circle of another. I have often thought theſe noble pairs and examples of friendſhip not ſo truly hiſtories of what had been,

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as fictions of what ſhould be, but I now perceive nothing in them, but poſſibilities, nor any thing in the heriock examples of Damon and Pythias, Achilles and Patroclus, which methinks upon ſome grounds I could not perform within the narrow compaſs of myſelf. That a man ſhould lay down his life for his friend, ſeems ſtrange to vulgar affections, and ſuch as confine themſelves within that worldly principle, charity begins at home. For mine own part I could never remember the relations I held unto myſelf, nor the reſpect that I owe unto mine own nature, in the cauſe of God, my country, and my friends. Next to theſe three, I do embrace myſelf; I confeſs I do not obſerve that order that the ſchools ordain our affections, to love our parents, wives, children, and then our friends, for excepting the injunctions of religion, I do not find

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in myſelf ſuch a neceſſary and indiſſoluble Sympathy to all thoſe of my blood. I hope I do not break the fifth commandment, if I conceive I may love my friend before the neareſt of my blood, even thoſe to whom I owe the principles of life; I never yet caſt a true affection on a woman, but I have loved my friend as I do virtue, my ſoul, my God. From hence me thinks I do conceive how God loves man, what happineſs there is in the love of God. Omitting all others, there are three moſt myſtical unions. two natures in one perſon; three perſons in one nature; one ſoul in two bodies. For tho' indeed they be really divided, yet are they ſo united, as they ſeem but one, and make rather a duality than two diſtinct ſouls.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

There are wonders in true affection, it is a body of *ænigmas*, myſteries and riddles, wherein two ſo become one, as they both become two; I love my friend before myſelf, and yet methinks I do not love him enough; ſome few months hence my multiplied affection will make me believe I have not loved him at all; when I am from him, I am dead till I be with him; when I am with him, I am not ſatisfied, but would ſtill be nearer him: united ſouls are not ſatisfied with embraces, but deſire to be truly each other, which being impoſſible, their deſires are infinite, and muſt proceed without a poſſibility of ſatisfaction. Another miſery there is in affection, that whom we truly love like our own, we forget their looks, nor can our memory retain the idea of their faces; and it is no wonder, for they are ourſelves, and

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our affections make their looks our own. This noble affection falls not on vulgar and common conſtitutions, but on ſuch as are marked for virtue; he that can love his friend with this noble ardour, will in a competent degree affect all. Now if we can bring our affections to look beyond the body, and caſt an eye upon the ſoul, we have found out the true object, not only of friendſhip but charity; and the greateſt happineſs that we can bequeath the ſoul, is that wherein we all do place our laſt felicity, ſalvation, which tho' it be not in our power to beſtow, it is in our charity, and pious invocations to deſire, if not procure. And further, I cannot contentedly frame a prayer for myſelf in particular, without a catalogue for my friends, nor requeſt a happineſs wherein my ſociable diſpoſition doth not deſire the fellowſhip of my neighbour. I never

ver hear the toll of a paſſing bell, tho' in my mirth, without my prayers and beſt wiſhes for the departing ſpirit; I cannot go to cure the body of my patient, but I forget my profeſſion, and call unto God for his ſoul; I cannot ſee one ſay his prayers, but inſtead of imitating him, I fall into a ſupplication for him, who perhaps is no more to me than a common nature: And if God hath vouchſafed an ear to my ſupplications, there are ſurely many happy that never ſaw me, and enjoy the bleſſing of my unknown devotions. To pray for enemies, that is, for their ſalvation, is no harſh precept, but the practice of our daily and ordinary devotions. I cannot believe the ſtoof the Italian, that our bad wiſhes and uncharitable deſires proceed no further than this life; it is the devil, and the uncharitable votes of hell,

hell, that desire our misery in the world to come.

SECT. VII.

To do no injury, nor take none, was a principle, which to my former years, and impatient affections, seemed to contain enough of morality, but my more settled years and Christian constitution have fallen upon severer resolutions. I can hold there is no such thing as injury, that if there be, there is no such injury as revenge, and no such revenge as the contempt of an injury; that to hate one another, is to malign himself, that the truest way to love one another, is to despise ourselves. I were unjust unto my own conscience, if I should say I am at variance with any thing like myself; I find there are many pieces in this one fabrick of man; this frame is raised upon a mass of antipathies: I am one, methinks, but

as the world; wherein, notwithſtanding there are a ſwarm of diſtinct eſſences, and in them another world of contrarieties, we carry private and domeſtick enemies within, publick and more hoſtile adverſaries without. The devil that did buffet St. Paul, plays methinks at ſharp with me: let me be nothing if within the compaſs of myſelf, I do not find the battle of Lepanto, paſſion againſt reaſon, reaſon againſt faith, faith againſt the devil, and my conſcience againſt all. There is another man within me that is angry with me, rebukes, commands, and daſtards me. I have no conſcience of marble to reſiſt the hammer of more heavy offences, nor yet ſo ſoft and waxen, as to take the impreſſion of each ſingle fault or ſcape of infirmity: I am of a ſtrange belief, that it is as eaſy to be forgiven ſome ſins, as to commit ſome others. For my original

ginal ſin, I hold it to be waſhed away by baptiſm; for my actual tranſgreſſions, I compute and reckon with God, but from my laſt repentance, ſacrament, or general abſolution: And therefore am not terrified with the ſins and madneſs of my youth. I thank the goodneſs of God, I have no ſins that want a name; I am not ſingular in offences, my tranſgreſſions are epidemical, and from the common breath of our corruption. For there are certain tempers of body, which matched with an humourous depravity of mind, do hatch and produce vicioſities, whoſe newneſs and monſtroſity of nature admits no name; * this was the temper of that leacher that carnald with a ſtatue, and the conſtitution of Nero in his ſpintrian recreations. For the heavens are not only fruitful in new and unheard of ſtars, the earth in plants and animals, but mens minds alſo

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in villany and vices; now the dulneſs of my reaſon, and the vulgarity of my diſpoſition, never prompted my invention, nor ſollicited my affection unto any of theſe; yet even thoſe common and daily infirmities that ſo neceſſarily attend me, and do ſeem to be my very nature, have ſo dejected me, ſo broken the eſtimation that I ſhould have otherwiſe of myſelf, that I repute myſelf the moſt abject piece of mortality: divines preſcribe a fit of ſorrow to repentance; there goes indignation, anger, ſorrow, hatred into mine, paſſions of a contrary nature, which neither ſeem to ſuit with this action, nor my proper conſtitution. It is no breach of charity to ourſelves to be at variance with our vices, nor to abhor that part of us, which is an enemy to the ground of charity, our God; wherein we do but imitate our great ſelves, the world, whoſe divided

vided antipathies and contrary faces do yet carry a charitable regard unto the whole by their particular discords, preserving the common harmony, and keeping in fetters those powers, which if getting once the mastery, might be the ruin of all.

SECT. VIII.

I thank God, among those millions of vices I do inherit and hold from Adam, I have escaped one, and that a mortal enemy to charity, the first and father sin, not only of man, but of the devil, pride; a vice whose name is comprehended in a monosyllable, but in its nature not circumscribed by the world; I have escaped it in a condition that can hardly avoid it: those petty acquisitions and reputed perfections that advance and elevate the conceits of other men, add no feathers to mine; I have seen a grammarian exult and elevate himself o-

ver

ver a ſingle line in Horace, and ſhew more pride in the conſtruction of one ode, than the author in the compoſition of the whole book. For my own part, beſides the jargon and gibberiſh of ſeveral provinces; I underſtand no leſs than ſix languages, yet I proteſt I have no higher conceit of myſelf than had our fathers before the confuſion of Babel, when there was but one language in the world, and none to boaſt himſelf either linguiſt or critick. I have not only ſeen ſeveral countries, beheld the nature of their climes, the chorography of their provinces, topography * of their cities, but underſtood their ſeveral laws, cuſtoms, and policies; yet cannot all this perſuade the dulneſs of my ſpirit unto ſuch an opinion of myſelf, as I behold in nimbler and conceited heads, that never looked a degree beoynd their neſts. I know the

names

names, and ſomewhat more, of all the conſtellations in my horizon, yet I have* ſeen a prating mariner, that could only name the pointers and the north ſtar, out-talk me, and conceit himſelf a whole ſphere above me. I know moſt of the plants of my country, and of thoſe about me: yet me thinks I do not know ſo many as when I did but know an hundred, and had ſcarcely ever ſimple'd further than Cheapſide: for indeed heads of capacity, and ſuch as are not full with a handful, or eaſy meaſure of knowledge, think they know nothing, till they know all, which being impoſſible, they fall upon the opinion of Socrates, and only know they know not any thing. * I cannot think that Homer pined away upon the riddle of the fiſherman, or that Ariſtotle, who underſtood the uncertainty of knowledge, and confeſſed ſo often the reaſon of man

too

too weak for the works of nature, did ever drown himſelf upon the flux and reflux of Euripus: We do but learn to-day, what our better advanced judgments will unteach tomorrow: * And Ariſtotle doth but inſtruct us as Plato did him; that is, to confute himſelf. I have run through all ſorts, yet find no reſt in any, tho' our firſt ſtudies and *junior* endeavours may ſtyle us Peripateticks, Stoicks, or Academicks, yet I perceive the wiſeſt heads prove at laſt, almoſt all Scepticks, and ſtand like Janus in the field of knowledge. I have therefore one common and authentick philoſophy I learned in the ſchools, whereby I diſcourſe and ſatisfy the reaſon of other men; another more reſerved and drawn from experience, whereby I content mine own. Solomon, that complained of ignorance in the height of knowledge, hath not only humbled my con-

conceits, but discouraged my endeavours. There is yet another conceit that hath sometimes made me shut my books; which tells me it is a vanity to waste our days in the blind pursuit of knowledge; it is but attending a little longer, and we shall enjoy that by instinct and infusion which we endeavour at here by labour and inquisition: it is better to sit down in a modest ignorance, and rest contented with the natural blessing of our own reasons, then buy the uncertain knowledge of this life, with sweat and vexation which death gives every fool *gratis*, and is an accessary of our glorification.

SECT. IX.

I was never once married, nor do I commend their resolutions who † marry twice: not that I disallow of second marriages; as neither in all cases of polygamy, which,

conſidering ſometimes the unequal number of both ſexes, may be alſo neceſſary. The whole world was made for man, but the twelfth part of man for woman: man is the whole world and the breath of God; woman the rib and crooked piece of man. * I could be content that we might procreate like trees, without conjunction, or that there were any way to perpetuate the world without this trivial and vulgar way of coition; it is the fooliſheſt act a wiſe man commits in all his life, nor is there any thing that will more deject his cool'd imagination, when he ſhall conſider what an odd and unworthy piece of folly he had committed; I ſpeak not in prejudice, nor am averſe from that ſweet ſex, but naturally amorous of all that is beautiful: I can look a whole day with delight upon a handſom picture, tho' it be but of an horſe: It is my temper, and I like it the better,

better, to affect all harmony; and ſure there is muſick even in the beauty, and the ſilent note which Cupid ſtrikes, far ſweeter than the ſound of an inſtrument. For there is muſick where-ever there is a harmony, order or proportion: and thus far we may maintain the muſick of the ſpheres; for thoſe well ordered motions, and regular paces, tho' they give no ſound unto the ear, yet to the underſtanding they ſtrike a note moſt full of harmony. Whoſoever is harmonically compoſed, delights in harmony; which makes me much diſtruſt the ſymmetry of thoſe heads which declaim againſt all church muſick. For myſelf, not only from my obedience but my particular genius, I do imbrace it; for even that vulgar and tavern muſick, which makes one man merry, another mad, ſtrikes in me a deep fit of devotion, and profound contemplation

on of the first composer: there is something in it of divinity more than the ear discovers. It is an hieroglyphical and shadowed lesson of the whole world, and creatures of God, such a melody to the ear, as the whole world well understood, would afford the understanding. In brief, it is a sensible fit of that harmony, which intellectually sounds in the ears of God. I will not say with Plato, the soul is an harmony, but harmonical, and hath its nearest sympathy unto musick: thus some, whose temper of body agrees, and humours the constitution of their souls, are born poets, tho indeed all are naturally inclined unto rhime. [a] This made Tacitus in the very first line of his story, fall upon a verse; and Cicero, the worst of poets, but declaiming for a poet, falls in the very first sentence upon

[a] *Urbem Romam in principio Reges habuere.*

upon a perfect [a] hexameter. I feel not in me those sordid, and unchristian desires of my profession, I do not secretly implore and wish for plagues, rejoice at famines, revolve ephemerides, and almanacks, in expectation of malignant aspects, fatal conjunctions, and eclipses: I rejoice not at unwholsome springs, nor unseasonable winters; my prayer goes with the husbandman's; I desire every thing in its proper season, that neither men nor the times be put out of temper. Let me be sick myself, if sometimes the malady of my patient be not a disease unto me, I desire rather to cure his infirmities than my own necessities: where I do him no good methinks it is scarce honest gain, tho' I confess 'tis but the worthy salary of our well-intended endeavours: I am not only ashamed, but heartily sorry, that

[a] *In orat. pro Archia Poeta.*
In qua me non inficior mediocriter esse.

that beſides death, there are diſeaſes incurable; yet not for my own ſake, or that they be beyond my art, but for the general cauſe and ſake of humanity, whoſe common cauſe I apprehend as mine own: and to ſpeak more generally, thoſe three noble profeſſions which all civil commonwealths do honour, are raiſed upon the fall of Adam, and not any of them exempt from their infirmities; there are not only diſeaſes incurable in phyſick, but caſes indiſſoluble in laws, vices incorrigible in divinity: if general councils may err, I do not ſee why particular courts ſhould be infallible, their perfecteſt rules are raiſed upon the erroneous reaſons of man, and the laws of one, do but condemn the rules of another; as Ariſtotle oft-times did the opinions of his predeceſſors, becauſe, tho' agreeable to reaſon, yet were not conſonant to his own rules, and the logick

logick of his proper principles. Again, to ſpeak nothing of the ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, whoſe cure not only, but whoſe nature is unknown; I can cure the gout or ſtone in ſome, ſooner than divinity can cure pride, or avarice in others. I can cure vices by phyſick, when they remain incurable by divinity, and they ſhall obey my pills, when they contemn their precepts. I boaſt nothing but plainly ſay, we all labour againſt our own cure, for death is the cure of all diſeaſes. There is no catholicon or univerſal remedy I know but this, which, tho' nauſeous to ſqueamiſh ſtomachs, yet to prepared appetites is nectar, and a pleaſant potion of immortality.

SECT. X.

For my converſation, it is like the ſun's with all men, with a friendly aſpect to good and bad. Methinks

Methinks there is no man bad, and the worſt beſt; that is, while they are kept within the circle of thoſe qualities wherein they are good: there is no man's mind of ſuch diſcordant and jarring a temper to which a tuneable diſpoſition may nor ſtrike a harmony. *Magnæ virtutes nec minora vitia*, is the poſy of the beſt natures, * and may be inverted on the worſt; there are in the moſt depraved and venemous diſpoſitions certain pieces that remain untouched; which by an antiperiſtaſis become more excellent, or by the excellency of their antipathies are able to preſerve themſelves from the contagion of their oppoſite vices, and perſiſt entire beyond the general corruption. For thus it is alſo in nature. The greateſt balſames do lye enveloped in the bodies of moſt powerful corroſives; I ſay moreover, and I ground upon experience, that poiſons contain

contain within themſelves their own antidote, and that which preſerves them from the venom of themſelves, without which they were not deſtructive to others only, but to themſelves alſo. But it is the corruption that I fear within me, not the contagion of commerce without me. 'Tis that unruly legion within me that will deſtroy me, 'tis I that do infect myſelf; * the man without a navel yet lives within me; I feel that original canker corrode and devour me, and therefore *defende meDeus de me*, Lord deliver me from myſelf, is apart of my litany, and the firſt words of my retired imaginations. There is no man alone, becauſe every man is a microcoſm, and carries the whole world about him; † *Nunquam minus ſolus quam cum ſolus*, tho' it be the apophthegm of a wiſe man, is yet true in the mouth of a fool; for indeed, tho' in a wil-

derneſs, a man is never alone, not only becauſe he is with himſelf, and his own thoughts, but becauſe he is with the devil, who always conſorts with our ſolitude, and is that unruly rebel that muſters up thoſe diſordered motions, which accompany our ſequeſtred imaginations. And to ſpeak more narrowly, there is no ſuch thing as ſolitude, nor any thing that can be ſaid to be alone, and by itſelf, but God, who is his own circle, and can ſubſiſt by himſelf: all others beſides their diſſimilar and heterogeneous parts, which in a manner multiply their natures, cannot ſubſiſt without the concourſe of God, and the ſociety of that hand which doth uphold their natures. In brief, there can be nothing truly alone, and by itſelf, which is not truly one, and ſuch is only God: All others do tranſcend an unity, and ſo by conſequence are many.

SECT.

SECT. XI.

Now for my life, it is a miracle of thirty years, which to relate, were not a hiſtory, but a piece of poetry, and would ſound to common ears like a fable; for the world, I count it not an inn, but an hoſpital; and a place not to live, but to die in. The world that I regard is myſelf; it is the microcoſm of mine own frame, that I caſt mine eye on; for the other, I uſe it but like my globe, and turn it round ſometimes for my recreation. Men that look upon my outſide, peruſing only my condition and fortunes, do err in my altitude; for I am above Atlas's ſhoulders. The earth is a point not only in reſpect of the heavens above us, but of that heavenly and celeſtial part within us: that maſs of fleſh that circumſcribes me, * limits not my mind: that ſurface that tells us the heavens hath an end, cannot perſuade

ſuade me I have any; I take my circle to be above three hundred and ſixty, tho' the number of the ark do meaſure my body, it comprehendeth not my mind: Whilſt I ſtudied to find how I am a microcoſm or little world, I find myſelf ſomething more than the great world. There is ſurely * a piece of divinity in us, ſomething that was before the elements, and owes no homage unto the ſun. Nature tells me, I am the image of God, as well as ſcripture; he that underſtands not thus much, hath not his introduction or firſt leſſon, and is yet to begin the alphabet of man. Let me not injure the felicity of others, if I ſay I am as happy as any, *Ruat cælum, fiat voluntas tua*, ſalveth all; ſo that whatſoever happens, it is but what our daily prayers deſire. In brief, I am content, and what ſhould providence add more? Surely this is what we call happineſs,

and

and this do I enjoy; with this I am happy in a dream, and as content to enjoy a happineſs in a fancy as others in a more apparent truth and reality. There is ſurely a nearer apprehenſion of any thing that delights us in our dreams, than in our waking ſenſes; without this I were unhappy; for my awakened judgment diſcontents me, ever whiſpering unto me, that I am from my friend; but my friendly dreams in the night requite me, and make me think I am within his arms. I thank God for my happy dreams, as I do for my good reſt; for there is a ſatisfaction in them unto reaſonable deſires, and ſuch as can be content with a fit of happineſs; and ſurely it is not a melancholy conceit to think we are all aſleep in this world, and that the conceits of this life are as mere dreams to thoſe of the next, as the phantaſmes of the night, to the conceits

of

of the day. There is an equal deluſion in both, and the one doth but ſeem to be the emblem or picture of the other; we are ſomewhat more than ourſelves in our ſleep, and ſlumber of the body ſeems to be but the waking of the ſoul. It is the ligation of ſenſe, but the liberty of reaſon, and our waking conceptions do not match the fancies of our ſleep. At my nativity, my aſcendant was the watery ſign of Scorpius; I was born in the planetary hour of Saturn, and I think I have a piece of that leaden planet in me: I am no way facetious, nor diſpoſed for the mirth and gallantry of company; yet in one dream * I can compoſe a whole comedy, behold the action, apprehend the jeſts, and laugh myſelf awake at the conceits thereof; were my memory as faithful as my reaſon is then fruitful, I would never ſtudy but in my dreams, and this time alſo would

I chuſe for my devotions; but * our groſſer memories have then ſo little hold of our abſtracted underſtandings, that they forget the ſtory, and can only relate to our waking ſouls a confuſed and broken tale of that that hath paſſed. Ariſtotle, who hath written a ſingular tract of ſleep, hath not, methinks, thoroughly defined it; nor yet Galen, tho' he ſeems to have corrected it; for thoſe noctambuloes and night-walkers tho' in their ſleep, do yet enjoy the action of their ſenſes: we muſt therefore ſay, that there is ſomething in us that is not in the juriſdiction of Morpheus; and that thoſe abſtracted and ecſtatick ſouls do walk about in their own bodies, as ſpirits with the bodies they aſſume, wherein they ſeem to hear, ſee, and feel, tho' indeed the organs are deſtitute of ſenſe, and their natures of thoſe faculties that ſhould inform them. Thus it is obſerved,

ſerved, that men ſometimes upon the hour of their departure, do ſpeak and reaſon above themſelves. For then the ſoul being near freed from the ligaments of the body, begins to reaſon like herſelf, and to diſcourſe in a ſtrain above mortality.

SECT. XII.

We term ſleep a death; and yet it is waking that kills us, and deſtroys thoſe ſpirits that are the houſe of life. 'Tis indeed a part of life that beſt expreſſeth death, for every man truly lives ſo long as he acts his nature, or ſome way makes good the faculties of himſelf: Themiſtocles therefore that ſlew his ſoldiers in his ſleep was a merciful excutioner; this is a kind of puniſhment the mildneſs of no laws hath invented; * I wonder the fancy of Lucan and Seneca did not diſcover it. It is that death by which we

we may be literally ſaid to die daily, a death which Adam died before his mortality; a death whereby we live a middle and moderating point between life and death; in fine, ſo like death, I dare not truſt it without my prayers, and an half adieu unto the world, and take my farewell in a colloquy with God.

The night is come like to the day,
Depart not thou, great God, away.
Let not my ſins, black as the night,
Eclipſe the luſtre of thy light.
Keep ſtill in my horizon; for to me
The ſun makes not the day, but thee.
Thou, whoſe nature cannot ſleep,
On my temples centry keep;
Guard me 'gainſt thoſe watchful foes,
Whoſe eyes are open while mine cloſe.
Let no dreams my head infeſt,
But ſuch as Jacob's temples bleſt,
While I do reſt, my ſoul advance;
Make me ſleep a holy trance:
That I may, my reſt being wrought,
Awake into ſome holy thought.

And with as active vigour run
My course, as doth the nimble sun.
Sleep is a death; O make me try,
By sleeping, what it is to die.
And as gently lay my head
On my grave, as now my bed.
How e're I rest, great God, let me
Awake again, at last, with thee.
And thus assur'd, behold I lye
Securely, or to wake or die.
These are my drowsy days, in vain
I do now wake to sleep again.
O come that hour, when I shall never
Sleep again, but wake for ever.

This is the dormitive I take going to bed, I need no other *laudanum* than this to make me sleep; after which I close mine eyes in security, content to take my leave of the sun, and sleep unto the resurrection.

SECT. XIII.

The method I always use in distributive justice, I often observe in-

invariably, and keep a geometrical proportion in both, whereby becoming equable to others, I become unjuſt to myſelf, and ſupererogate in that common principle, Do unto others as thou wouldeſt be done unto thyſelf, I was not born unto riches, neither is it, I think, my ſtars to be wealthy; or if it were, the freedom of my mind, and frankneſs of my diſpoſition, were able to contradict and croſs my fate: for to me avarice ſeems not ſo much a vice, as a deplorable piece of madneſs; to conceive ourſelves urinals *, or be perſuaded that we are dead, is not ſo ridiculous, nor ſo many degrees beyond the power of hellebore, as this. The opinions of theory, and poſitions of men, are not ſo void of reaſon as their practiſed concluſions: ſome have held that ſnow is black, that the earth moves, that the ſoul is air, fire water, but all this

this is philoſophy, and there is no *delirium*, if we do but ſpeculate the folly and indiſputable dotage of avarice to that ſubterraneous idol, and God of the earth. I do confeſs I am an atheiſt, I cannot perſuade myſelf to honour what the world adores; whatſoever virtue its prepared ſubſtance may have within my body, it hath no influence nor operation without; I would not entertain a baſe deſign, or an action that ſhould call me villain, for the Indies; and for this only do I love and honour my own ſoul, and have, methinks, two arms too few to embrace myſelf. Ariſtotle is too ſevere, that will not allow us to be truly liberal without wealth, and the bountiful hand of fortune; if this is true, I confeſs I am charitable only in my liberal intentions, and bountiful well-wiſhes. But if the example of the mite be not only an act of wonder, but an example

ample of the nobleſt charity, ſurely poor men may alſo build hoſpitals, and the rich alone have not erected cathedrals. I have a private method which others obſerve not, I take the opportunity of myſelf to do good; I borrow occaſion of charity from mine own neceſſities, and ſupply the wants of others, when I am in moſt need myſelf; for it is an honeſt ſtratagem to take advantage of ourſelves, and ſo to husband the act of virtue, that where they are defective in one circumſtance, or in one reſpect they may repay their want, and multiply their goodneſs in another. I have not *Peru* in my deſires, but a competence, and ability to perform thoſe good works to which he hath inclined my nature. He is rich, who hath enough to be charitable; and it is hard to be ſo poor, that a noble mind may not find a way to this piece of good-

goodneſs; *He that giveth to the poor, lendeth to the Lord*; there is more rhetorick in that one ſentence than in a library of ſermons, and indeed if thoſe ſentences were underſtood by the reader, with the ſame emphaſis as they are delivered by the author, we needed not thoſe volumes of inſtructions, but might be honeſt by an epitome. Upon this motive only I cannot behold a beggar without relieving his neceſſities with my purſe, or his ſoul with my prayers; theſe ſcenical and accidental differences between us cannot make me forget that common and untouched part of us both: there is under theſe cantoes and miſerable outſides, theſe mutilate and ſemi-bodies, a ſoul of the ſame alloy with our own, whoſe genealogy is God's as well as ours, and in as fair a way to ſalvation, as ourſelves. Statiſts that labour to contrive a commonwealth without poverty,

poverty, take away the object of charity, not underſtanding only the commonwealth of a chriſtian, but forgetting the propheſy of Chriſt.

SECT. XIV.

Now there is another part of charity, which is the baſis and pillar of this, and that is the love of God, for whom we love our neighbour: for this I think charity, to love God for himſelf, and our neighbour for God. All that is truly amiable is God, or as it were a divided piece of him, that retains a reflex or ſhadow of himſelf. Nor is it ſtrange that we ſhould place affection on that which is inviſible; all that we truly love is ſo: what we adore under affection of our ſenſes, deſerves not the honour of ſo pure a title. Thus we adore virtue, tho' to the eyes of ſenſe, ſhe be inviſible. Thus that part of our noble friends that we love, is not that

that part that we embrace, but that inſenſible part that our arms cannot embrace. God being all goodneſs, can love nothing but himſelf, he loves us but for that part which is as it were himſelf, and the traduction of his holy ſpirit. Let us call to aſſize the loves of our parents, affection of our wives and children, and they are all dumb ſhows, and dreams, without reality, truth, or conſtancy; for firſt there is a ſtrong bond of affection between us and our parents, yet how eaſily diſſolved? we betake ourſelves to a woman, forgetting our mothers in a wife, and the womb that bare us in that which ſhall bear our image. This woman bleſſing us with children, our affections leaves the level it held before, and ſinks from our bed unto our iſſue and picture of poſterity, where affection holds no ſteady manſion. They growing up in years deſire our ends, or applying

plying themſelves to a woman, take a lawful way to love another better than ourſelves. Thus I perceive a man may be buried alive, and behold his grave in his own iſſue.

SECT. XV.

I conclude therefore and ſay, there is no happineſs under (or as Copernicus will have it, above) the ſun, nor any crambo in that repeated verity and burden of all the wiſdom of Solomon, *All is vanity and vexation of ſpirit*[a]; there is no felicity in what the world adores. Ariſtotle, whilſt he labours to refute the ideas of Plato, falls upon one himſelf: for his *ſummum bonum*, is a *chimæra*, and there is no ſuch thing as his felicity. That wherein God himſelf is hpapy, the holy angels are happy, in whoſe defect the devils are unhappy, that dare I call happineſs: whatſoever conduceth

[a] Eccleſ. ii. 26.

unto this, may with an eaſy metaphor deſerve that name; whatſoever elſe the world terms happineſs, is to me as a ſtory out of Pliny, a tale of Boccace or Malizpini, an apparition, or neat deluſion, wherein there is no more of happineſs than the name. Bleſs me in this life with but peace of conſcience, command of my affections, the love of thyſelf and my deareſt friends, and I ſhall be happy enough to pity Ceſar. Theſe are, O Lord, the humble deſires of my moſt reaſonable ambition, and all I dare call happineſs on earth: wherein I ſet no rule or limit to thy hand or providence, diſpoſe of me according * to the wiſdom of thy pleaſure. Thy will be done, tho' in my own undoing.

FINIS.

OBSERVATIONS

UPON

RELIGIO MEDICI.

Occaſionally written by

Sir KENELME DIGBY Knight.

OBSERVATIONS

UPON

RELIGIO MEDICI.

To the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Dorſet, Baron of Buckhurſt, *&c.*

MY LORD,

I Received yeſternight your Lordſhip's, of the 19th current; wherein you are pleaſed to oblige me, not only by extreme gallant expreſſions of favour and kindneſs; but likewiſe by taking ſo far into your care the ſpending of my time during the tediouſneſs of my reſtraint, as to recommend to my reading a book that had received the honour and protection of your appro-

approbation; for both which I moſt humbly thank your Lordſhip. And ſince I cannot, in the way of grateſulneſs, expreſs unto your Lordſhip as I would, thoſe hearty ſentiments I have of your goodneſs to me, I will, at leaſt, endeavour, in the way of duty and obſervance, to let you ſee how the little needle of my ſoul is thoroughly touched at the great loadſtone of yours, and followeth ſuddenly and ſtrongly which way ſoever you direct it. On this occaſion, the magnetick motion was impatient to have the book in my hands, that your Lordſhip gave ſo advantageous a character of; whereupon I ſent preſently (as late as it was) to Paul's church-yard, for this favourite of yours, *Religio Medici*; which after a while found me in a condition fit to receive a bleſſing by a viſit from any ſuch maſter-piece as you look upon with gracious eyes;

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for I was newly gone to bed. This good-natured creature I could easily perſuade to be my bedfellow, and to wake with me as long as I had any reliſh to entertain myſelf with the delights I ſucked from ſo noble a converſation. And truly my Lord, I cloſed not my eyes till I had enriched myſelf with, or at leaſt exactly ſurveyed, all the treaſures that are wrapt up in the folds of thoſe few ſheets. To return only a general commendation of this curious piece, or at large to admire the author's ſpirit and ſmartneſs, were too perfunctory an account, and too ſlight a one, to ſo diſcerning and ſteddy an eye as yours, after ſo particular and encharged a ſummons to read carefully this diſcourſe. I will therefore preſume to blot a ſheet or two of paper with my reflexions upon ſundry paſſages thro' the whole context of it, as they ſhall occur to

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my remembrance. As now your Lordſhip knoweth this packet is not ſo happy as to carry with it any other expreſſion of my obſequiouſneſs to you, it will be but reaſonable you ſhould even here give over your further trouble of reading, what my reſpect engageth me to the writing of.

He whoſe firſt ſtep is ingenuity and a well natur'd evenneſs of judgment, ſhall be ſure of applauſe and fair hopes in all men for the reſt of his journey: And indeed (my Lord) methinks this gentleman ſetteth out excellently poiſed with that happy temper; and ſheweth a great deal of judicious piety in making a right uſe of the blind zeal that bigots loſe themſelves in. yet I cannot ſatisfie my doubts thoroughly, how he maketh good his profeſſing to follow the great wheel of the church in matters of divinity: which ſurely is the ſolid baſis of true religion:

religion: for to do ſo, without jarring againſt the conduct of that firſt mover by eccentrical and irregular motions, obligeth one to yield a very dutiful obedience to the determinations of it without arrogating to ones ſelf a controuling ability in liking or miſliking the faith, doctrine, and conſtitutions of that church which one looketh upon as their north ſtar: whereas, if I miſtake not, this author approveth the church of England not abſolutely, but comparatively with other reformed churches.

My next reflexion is concerning what he hath ſprinkled (moſt wittily) in ſeveral places, concerning the nature and immortality of the human ſoul, and the condition and ſtate it is in, after the diſſolution of the body. And here give me leave to obſerve what our countryman Roger Bacon did long ago; that thoſe ſtudents who buſy

themſelves much with ſuch notions as reſide wholly in the fancy, do hardly ever become fit for abſtracted metaphyſical ſpeculations; the one having bulky foundation of matter, or of the accidents of it, to ſettle upon, at the leaſt, with an foot: the other flying continually, even to a leſſening pitch, in the ſubtile air: and accordingly it hath been generally noted, that the exacted mathematicians, who converſe altogether with lines, figures, and other differences of quantity; have ſeldom proved eminent in metaphyſicks or ſpeculative divinity. Nor again the profeſſors of theſe ſciences, in the other arts. Much leſs can it be expected that an excellent phyſician whoſe fancy is always fraught with the material drugs that he preſcribeth his apothecary to compound his medicines of, and whoſe hands are inured to the cutting up, and eyes to the inſpection of anatomized

anatomized bodies; ſhould eaſily, and with ſucceſs, flie his thoughts at ſo towring a game, as a pure intellect, a ſeparated and unbodyed ſoul; ſurely this acute author's ſharp wit, had he orderly applyed his ſtudies that way, would have been able to ſatisfy himſelf with leſs labour, and others with more fulneſs, than it hath been the lot of ſo dull a brain as mine, concerning the immortality of the ſoul: and yet I aſſure you (my Lord) the little philoſophy that is allowed me for my ſhare, demonſtrateth this propoſition to me, as well as faith delivered it: which our phyſician will not admit in his.

To make good his aſſertion here, were very unreaſonable, ſince, [to do it exactly (and without exactneſs, it were not demonſtration) requireth a total ſurvey of the whole ſcience of bodies, and all the operations that we are converſant with,

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of a rational creature; which I having done, with all the ſuccinctneſs I have been able to unfold ſo knotty a ſubject with, hath taken me up in the firſt draught near two hundred ſheets of paper. I ſhall therefore take leave of this point with only this note, that I take the immortality of the ſoul (under his favour) to be of that nature, that to them only that are not verſed in the ways of proving it by reaſon, it is an article of faith; to others, it is an evident concluſion of demonſtrative ſcience.

And with a like ſhort note I ſhall obſerve how if he had traced the nature of the ſoul from its firſt principles, he could not have ſuſpected it ſhould ſleep in the grave till the reſurrection of the body. Nor would he have permitted his compaſſionate nature to imagine it belonged to God's mercy (as the Millenarians did) to change its condition in thoſe that

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are damned, from pain to happineſs. For where God ſhould have done that, he muſt have made that tormented ſoul another creature than what it was, as to make fire ceaſe from being hot, requireth to have it become another thing than the element of fire;) ſince, that to be in ſuch a condition as maketh us underſtand damned ſouls miſerable, is a neceſſary effect of the temper it is in, when it goeth out of the body, and muſt neceſſarily, of its own nature, remain in, unvariably for all eternity; tho', for the conceptions of the vulgar part of mankind, who are not capable of ſuch abſtruſe notions, it be ſtyled, and truly too, the ſentence and puniſhment of a ſevere judge.

I am extremely pleaſed with him, when he ſaith, there are not impoſſibilities enough in religion for an active faith: and no whit leſs, when, in philoſophy, he will not be

be ſatisfied with ſuch naked terms as in ſchools uſe to be obtruded upon eaſy minds, when the maſter's fingers are not ſtrong enough to unty the knots propoſed unto them. I confeſs, when I enquire, (to uſe our author's example) what light is? I ſhould be as well contented with his ſilence, as with his telling me it is *actus perſpicui*, unleſs he explain clearly to me what thoſe words mean, which I find very few go about to do. Such meat they ſwallow whole, and eject it as entire. But were ſuch things ſcientifically, and methodically declared, they would be of extreme ſatisfaction and delight. And that work taketh up the greateſt part of my forementioned treatiſe. For I endeavour to ſhew by a continued progreſs, and not by leaps, all the motions of nature; and unto them to fit intelligibly the terms uſed by her beſt ſecretaries: whereby all wild

wild fantaſtick qualities and moods, introduced for the refuges of ignorance, are baniſhed from my commerce.

In the next place, my Lord, I ſhall ſuſpect that our author hath not penetrated into the bottom of thoſe conceptions that deep ſcholars have taught us of eternity; methinks he taketh it for an infinite extenſion of time, and a never ending revolution of continual ſucceſſion: which is no more like eternity than a groſs body is like to a pure ſpirit. Nay, ſuch an infinity of revolutions, is demonſtrable to be a contradiction and impoſſible. In the ſtate of eternity there is no ſucceſſion, no change, no variety. Souls or angels, in that condition, do not ſo much as change a thought. All things, notions and actions, that ever were, are or ſhall be in any creature, are actually preſent to ſuch an intellect. And this,

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my Lord, I aver, not as deriving it from theology, and having recourſe to beatifick viſion to make good my tenet, (for ſo only glorified creatures ſhould enjoy ſuch immenſe knowledge) but out of the principles of nature and reaſon; and from thence ſhall demonſtrate it to belong to the loweſt ſoul of the moſt ignorant wretch while he lived in this world, ſince damned in hell. A bold undertaking you will ſay; but I confidently engage myſelf to it. Upon this occaſion occurreth alſo a great deal to be ſaid of the nature of predeſtination, (which by the ſhort touch our author giveth it, I doubt he quite miſtakes) and how it is an unalterable ſeries and chain of cauſes, producing infallible, and in reſpect of them, neceſſary) effects. But that is too large a theme to unfold here; too vaſt an ocean to deſcribe, in the ſcant map of a letter. And therefore I will refer that to a

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fitter opportunity, fearing I have already too much treſpaſſed upon your Lordſhip's patience; but that indeed I hope you have not had enough to read thus far.

I am ſure, my Lord, that you (who never forgot any thing, which deſerved a room in your memory) do remember how we are told, *abyſſus abyſſum invocat:* ſo here our author, from the abyſs of predeſtination, falleth into that of the Trinity of Perſons, conſiſtent with the indiviſibility of the divine nature: and out of that, if I be not exceedingly deceived, into a third, of miſtaking, when he goeth about to illuſtrate this admirable myſtery by a wild diſcourſe of a trinity in our ſouls. The dint of wit is not forcible enough to diſſect ſuch tough matter; wherein all the obſcure glimmering we gain of that inacceſſible light, cometh to us clothed in the dark Weeds of negations; and therefore

little can we hope to meet with any poſitive examples to parallel it with.

I doubt, he alſo miſtaketh, and impoſeth upon the ſeveral ſchools, when he intimateth, that they gainſay this viſible world's being but a picture or ſhadow of the inviſible and intellectual; which manner of philoſophizing, he attributeth to Hermes Triſmegiſtus; but is every where to be met with in Plato; and is raiſed ſince to a greater height in the chriſtian ſchools.

But I am ſure he learned in no good ſchool, nor ſucked from any philoſophy, to give an actual ſubſiſtence and being to firſt matter without a form. He that will allow to that a real exiſtence in nature, is as ſuperficially verſed in metaphyſicks, as an other would be in mathematicks that ſhould allow the like to a point, a line, or a ſuperficies in figures. Theſe, in their ſtrict

ſtrict notions, are but negations of farther extenſion, or but exact terminations of that quantity which falleth under the conſideration of the underſtanding, in the preſent purpoſe; no real entities in themſelves: ſo likewiſe, the notions of matter, form, act, power, exiſtence, and the like, that are with truth conſidered by the underſtanding, and have there each of them a diſtinct entity are nevertheleſs, nowhere by themſelves in nature. They are terms which we muſt uſe in the negotiations of our thoughts, if we will diſcourſe conſequentially, and conclude knowingly. But then again we muſt be very wary of atributing to things in their own natures, ſuch entities as we create in our underſtandings, when we make pictures of them there; for there, every different conſideration ariſing out of the different impreſſion, which the ſame thing maketh upon us, hath a diſtinct

ſtinct being by itſelf. Whereas in the thing itſelf, there is but one ſingle unity, that ſhewed (as it were in a glaſs, at ſeveral poſitions) thoſe various faces in our underſtanding. In a word, all theſe words are but artificial terms, not real things. And the not right underſtanding them, is the moſt dangerous rock that ſcholars ſuffer ſhipwreck againſt.

I go on with our phyſician's contemplations. Upon every occaſion he ſheweth ſtrong parts and a vigorous brain. His wiſhes and aims, and what he pointeth at, ſpeak him owner of a noble and generous heart. He hath reaſon to wiſh that Ariſtotle had been as accurate in examining the cauſes, nature and affections of the great univerſe he buſied himſelf about, as his patriarch Galen hath been in the like conſiderations upon his little world, man's body, in that admirable work of his *de uſu partium*. But no great human

human thing was ever born and perfected at once. It may ſatisfy us, if one in our age, buildeth that magnifick ſtructure upon the other's foundations; and eſpecially, if where he findeth any of them unſound, he eradicateth thoſe, and fixeth new unqueſtionable ones in their room: but ſo, as they ſtill, in groſs, keep a proportion, and bear a harmony with the other's great work: this hath now, (even now) our learned countryman done. The knowing Mr. White, whoſe name, I believe, your Lordſhip hath met withal, in his excellent book, *De mundo*, newly printed at Paris, where he now reſideth, and is admired by the learned world there, as the prodigy of theſe later times. Indeed his three dialogues upon that ſubject, (if I am able to judge any thing) are full of the profoundeſt learning I ever yet met with. And I believe, he who hath well read and digeſted

digeſted them, will perſuade himſelf there is no truth ſo abſtruſe, nor hitherto conceived out of our reach, but man's wit may raiſe engines to ſcale and conquer. I aſſure myſelf, when our author hath ſtudied him thoroughly, he will not lament ſo loud for Ariſtotle's mutilated and defective philoſophy, as in Boccalini, Cæſar Caporali doth for the loſs of Livy's ſhipwrecked decads.

That logick which he quarrelleth at for calling a toad, or a ſerpent ugly, will in the end agree with his; for no body ever took them to be ſo, in reſpect of the univerſe, (in which regard he defendeth their regularity and ſymmetry) but only as they have relation to us.

But I cannot ſo eaſily agree with him, when he affirmeth that devils, or other ſpirits in the intellectual world have no exact ephemerides wherein

wherein they may read before-hand the ſtories of fortuitous accidents; for I believe that all cauſes are ſo immediately chained to their effects, that if a perfect knowing nature get hold but of one link, it will drive the entire ſeries or pedigree of the whole to each utmoſt end; (as I think I have proved in my forenamed treatiſe) ſo that in truth, there is no fortuitouſneſs or contingency of things, in reſpect of themſelves, but only in reſpect of us, that are ignorant of their certain and neceſſary cauſes.

Now a like ſeries or chain and complex of all outward circumſtances, (whoſe higheſt link, poets ſay prettily, is faſtened to Jupiter's chair, and the loweſt is riveted to every individual on earth) ſteered and levelled by God Almighty at the firſt ſetting out of the firſt mover, I conceive, to be that divine providence and mercy, which (to

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uſe our author's own example) giveth a thriving genius to the Hollanders, and the like: And not any ſecret, inviſible, myſtical bleſſing, that falleth not under the ſearch or cognizance of a prudent inquiry.

I muſt needs approve our author's æquanimity, and I may as juſtly ſay his magnanimity, in being contented ſo cheerfully (as he ſaith) to ſhake hands with the fading goods of fortune, and be deprived of the joys of her moſt precious bleſſings; ſo that he may, in recompence, poſſeſs in ample meaſure the true ones of the mind; like Epictetus, that great maſter of moral wiſdom and piety, who taxeth them of high injuſtice that repine at God's diſtribution of his bleſſings, when he puteth not into their ſhare of goods, ſuch things as they uſe no induſtry or means to purchaſe. For why ſhould that man who above all things eſteemeth his own fredom, and

and who to injoy that, ſequeſtreth himſelf from commerce with the vulgar of mankind, take it ill of his ſtars, if ſuch prefermients, honours, and applauſes meet not him, as are painfully gained after long and tedious ſervices of princes, and brittle dependencies of humorous favourites, and ſupple compliances with all ſorts of natures? As for what he ſaith of aſtrology, I do not conceive that wiſe men reject it ſo much for being repugnant to divinity (which he reconcileth well enough) as for having no ſolid rules, or ground in nature. To rely too far upon that vain art, I judge to be rather folly then impiety unleſs in our cenſure, we look to the firſt origin of it, which favoureth of the idolatry of thoſe heathens who worſhipping the ſtars and heavenly bodies for deities, did in a ſuperſtitious devotion, attribute unto them the cau-

ſality of all effects beneath them. And for ought I know the belief of ſolid orbs in the heavens, and their regularly irregular motions, ſprung from the ſame root. And a like inanity, I ſhould ſuſpect in chiromancy as well as in aſtrology, (eſpecially, in particular contingent effects) however our author, and no leſs a man than ariſtotle, ſeem to attribute ſomewhat more to that conjectural art of lines.

I ſhould much doubt (tho' our author ſheweth himſelf of another mind, that Bernardius Ochinus grew at laſt to be a meer atheiſt; when, after having been firſt the inſtitutor and patriarch of the capuchin order, (ſo violent was his zeal then, as no former religious inſtitution, tho' never ſo rigorous, was ſtrict enough for him) he from thence fell to be firſt an Heretick, then a Jew, and after a while became a Turk and at the laſt wrote

a furious invective againſt thoſe whom he called the three grand impoſtors of the world, among whom he ranked our Saviour, Chriſt, as well as Moſes and Mahomet.

I doubt he miſtaketh in his chronology, or the printer in the name, when he maketh Ptolomy condemn the Alcoran.

He needeth not be ſo ſcrupulous, as he ſeemeth to be in averring down rightly, that God cannot do contradictory things, (tho' peradventure it is not amiſs to ſweeten the manner of the expreſſion, and the ſound of the words) for who underſtandeth the nature of contradiction, will find non-entity in one of the terms, which of God, were impiety not to deny peremptorily, for he being in his proper nature ſelf-entity, all being muſt immediately flow from him, and all non-entity be totally excluded from that efflux. Now for the recalling of time

time paſt, which the angels poſed Eſdras withal; there is no contradiction in that, as is evident to them that know the eſſence of time (for it is but putting again, all things, that had motion, into the ſame ſtate they were in at that moment unto which time was to be reduced back; and from thence, letting it travel on again, by the ſame motions, and upon the ſame wheels, it rolled upon before.) And therefore God could do this admirable work, tho' neither Eſdras nor all the power of creatures together could do it: and conſequently it cannot in this queſtion be ſaid, that he poſed mortality with what himſelf was not able to perform.

I acknowledge ingeniouſly our phyſician's experience hath the advantage of my philoſophy, in knowing there are witches. Yet I am ſure I have no temptation to doubt of the deity; nor have any diſſatiſ-

disſatisfaction in believing there are ſpirits. I do not ſee much a neceſſary conjunction between them, as that the ſuppoſition of the one, muſt needs, infer the other. Neither do I deny there are witches: I only reſerve my aſſent, till I meet with ſtronger motives to carry it. And I confeſs I doubt as much of the efficacy of thoſe magical rules he ſpeaketh of, as of the finding out myſteries by the courteous revelation of ſpirits.

I doubt, his diſcourſe of an univerſal ſpirit, is but a wild fancy: and that in the marſhalling of it, he miſtaketh the hermetical philoſophers. And ſurely, it is a weak argument from a common nature that ſubſiſteth only in our underſtanding, (out of which it hath no being at all to infer by parity, an actual ſubſiſtence of the like, in reality of nature, and upon this occaſion, I do not ſee how ſeaſonably he falleth,

falleth, of a ſudden, from natural ſpeculations to a moral contemplation of God's ſpirit working in us. In which alſo I inquire (eſpecially upon his ſudden poeticall rapture) whether the ſolidity of the judgment be not out weighed by the airineſs of the fancy. Aſſuredly one cannot err in taking this author for a very fine ingenious gentleman: but for how deep a ſcholar, I leave unto them to judge, that are abler than I am.

If he had applied himſelf with earneſt ſtudy, and upon right grounds, to ſearch out the nature of bare intellects, I doubt not but his great parts would have argued more efficaciouſly, than he doth againſt thoſe that are between men and angels, but only Porphiry's difference of mortality and immortality. And he would have dived further into the tenor of their intellectual operations, in which there is no ſucceſſi-

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on, nor ratiocinative diſcourſe; for in the very firſt inſtant of their creation, they actually knew all that they were capable of knowing, and they are acquainted even with all free thoughts, paſt, preſent, and to come; for they ſee them in their cauſes, and they ſee them altogether at one inſtant, as I have in my forementioned treatiſe proved at large: and I think I have already touched thus much once before in this letter.

I am tempted here to ſay a great deal concerning light, by his taking it to be a bare quality: For in phyſicks no ſpeculation is more uſeful, or reacheth further. But to ſet down ſuch phenomenons of it, as I have obſerved, and from whence I evidently collect the nature of it, were too large a theme for this place; when your Lordſhip pleaſeth I ſhall ſhew you another more orderly diſcourſe upon that ſubject, wherein

wherein I have ſufficiently proved it to be a ſolid ſubſtance and body.

In his proceeding to collect an intellectual world, and in his diſcourſing upon the place, and habitation of angels; as alſo in his conſideration of the activity of glorified eyes, (which ſhall be in a ſtate of reſt, whereas motion is required to ſeeing) and in his ſubtle ſpeculation upon two bodies placed in the vacuity beyond the utmoſt all-encloſing ſuperficies of heaven, which implieth a contradiction in nature, methinks I hear Apelles crying out, *Ne ſutor ultra crepidam:* or rather it putteth me in mind of one of the titles in Pantagruel's library, (which he expreſſeth himſelf converſant in) namely, *Queſtio ſubtiliſſima, utrum chimera in vacuo bombinans poſſit comedere ſecundas intentiones?* with which ſhort note I will leave theſe conſiderations; in which (if time and other circumſtances allowed

lowed it) matter would ſpring up of excellent learning.

When our author ſhall have read Mr. White's dialogues of the world, he will no longer be of the opinion, that the unity of the world is a concluſion of faith: For it is there demonſtrated by reaſon.

Here the thread of the diſcourſe inviteth me to ſay a great deal of the production, or creation of man's ſoul[a]. But it is too tedious and too knotty a piece for a letter. Now it ſhall ſuffice to note, that it is not *ex traduce*, and yet hath a ſtrange kind of near dependence on the body; which is, as it were, God's inſtrument to create it by. This, thus ſaid, or rather tumbled out, may ſeem harſh. But had your Lorſhip leiſure to peruſe what I have written at full upon this point, I doubt not but it would appear plauſible enough to you.

[a] Sect. XXXV.

I cannot agree with him when he ſeemeth to impute inconvenience to long life, and that length of time doth rather impair, than improve us. For ſurely, if we will follow the courſe of nature, and of reaſon, it is a mighty great bleſſing, were it but in this regard, that it giveth time leave to vent and boil away the unquietneſſes and turbulencies that follow our paſſions, and to wean ourſelves gently from carnal affections, and at the laſt to drop with eaſe and willingneſs, like ripe fruit from the tree; as I remember Plotinus finely diſcourſeth in one of his Æneads. For when before the ſeaſon it is plucked off with violent hands, or ſhaken-down by rude and boiſterous winds, it carrieth along with it an indigeſted raw taſte of the wood, and hath an unpleaſant eagerneſs in its juice that maketh it unfit for uſe, till long time hath mellowed it: and perad-

peradventure it may be ſo backward, as inſtead of ripening, it may grow rotten in the very center. In like manner, ſouls that go out of their bodies with affections to thoſe objects they leave behind them, (which uſually is as long as they can reliſh them) do retain ſtill even in their ſeparation, a bias, and a languiſhing towards them: which is the reaſon why ſuch terrene ſouls appear oftenеſt in Cæmeteries and Charnel houſes (and not that moral one which our author giveth) for life, which is union with the body, being that which carnal ſouls have the ſtrongeſt affections to, and that they are loatheſt to be ſeparated from; their unquiet ſpirit, which can never naturally loſe the impreſſions it had wrought in it at the time of its driving out, lingereth perpetually after that dear conſort of his. The impoſſibility cannot

cure

cure them of their impotent deſires; they would fain be alive again,

-----Iterumque ad tarda reverti
Corpora. Que lucis miſeris tam dira cupido?

And to this cauſe peradventure may be reduced the ſtrange effect which is frequently ſeen in England, when, at the approach of the murderer, the ſlain body ſuddenly bleedeth afreſh: for certainly the ſouls of them that are treacherouſly murdered by ſurpriſe, uſe to leave their bodies with extreme unwillingneſs, and with vehement indignation againſt them that force them to ſo unprovided and abhorred a paſſage. That ſoul then, to wreak its evil talent againſt the hated murderer, and to draw a juſt and deſired revenge upon his head, would do all it can to manifeſt the author of the fact, to ſpeak, it can-

cannot; for in itſelf, it wanteth organs of voice; and thoſe it is parted from, are now grown too heavy, and are too benummed for it, to give motion unto. Yet ſome change it deſireth to make in the body which it hath ſo vehement inclinations to, and therefore is the apteſt for it to work upon: it muſt then endeavour to cauſe a motion in the ſubtleſt and moſt fluid parts (and conſequently, the moſt moveable ones) of it. This can be nothing but the blood; which then being violently moved, muſt needs guſh out at thoſe places where it findeth iſſues.

Our author cannot believe that the world will periſh upon the ruins of its own principles: but Mr. White hath demonſtrated the end of it upon natural reaſon. And though the preciſe time for that general deſtruction be inſcrutable; yet he learnedly ſheweth an ingenious

ous rule whereby to meaſure in ſome ſort the duration of it, without being branded (as our author threatneth) with convincible and ſtatute madneſs, or with impiety. And whereas he will have the work of this laſt great day, the ſummer up of all paſt days, to imply annihilation and thereupon intereſteth God only in it; I muſt beg leave to contradict him, namely in this point, and to affirm that the letting looſe then of the moſt active element to to deſtroy this face of the world, will but beget a change in it; and that no annihilation can proceed from God Almighty: for his eſſence being (as I ſaid before) ſelf exiſtence, it is more impoſſible that not-being ſhould flow from him, then that cold ſhould flow immediately from fire, or darkneſs, from the actual preſence of light.

I muſt needs acknowledge, that where he balanceth life and death againſt

againſt one another, and conſidereth that the latter is to be a kind of nothing for a moment, to become a pure ſpirit within one inſtant; and what followeth of this ſtrong thought is very handſomely ſaid, and argueth very gallant and generous reſolutions in him.

To exemplify the immortality of of the ſoul, he needeth not have recourſe to the philoſopher's ſtone. His own ſtore furniſheth him with a moſt pregnant one of reviving a plant (the ſame numerical plant) out of its own aſhes. But under his favour, I believe his experiment will fail. If under the notion of the ſame, he comprehendeth all the accidents that firſt accompanied that plant; for ſince in the aſhes there remaineth only the fixed ſalt, I am very confident that all the colour, and much of the odour and taſte of it is flown away with the volatile ſalt.

What

What ſhould I ſay of his making ſo particular a narration of perſonal things, and private thoughts of his own; the knowledge whereof can, not much conduce to any man's betterment, which I make account is the chief end of his writing this diſcourſe; as where he ſpeaketh of the ſoundneſs of his body, of the courſe of his diet, of the coolneſs of his blood at the ſummer ſolſtice of his age, of his neglect of an epitaph, how long he hath lived or may live, what Popes, Emperors, Kings, Grand-Seigniors, he hath been contemporary unto, and the like, would it not be thought that he hath a ſpecial good opinion of himſelf, (and indeed he hath reaſon) when he maketh ſuch great princes the landmarks in the chronology of himſelf? Surely, if he were to write by retail the particulars of his own ſtory and life, it would be a notable

table romance, ſince he telleth us in one total ſum, it is a continued miracle of thirty years. Tho' he creepeth gently upon us at firſt, yet he groweth a giant, an Atlas (to uſe his own expreſſion) at the laſt. But I will not cenſure him as he that made notes upon Balſac's letters, and was angry with him for vexing his readers with ſtories of cholicks, and voiding of gravel. I leave this kind of his expreſſions, without looking further into them.

In the next place, my Lord, I ſhall take occaſion, from our author's ſetting ſo great a difference [a] between moral honeſty and virtue, or being virtuous, (to uſe his ownphraſe) out of an inbred loyalty to virtue; and, on the other ſide, being virtuous for a reward's ſake: To diſcourſe a little concerning virtue in this life, and the effects of it afterwards. Tru-

[a] Sect. XLV.

ly, my Lord, however he ſeemeth to prefer this latter, I cannot but value the other much before it, if we regard the nobleneſs and heroickneſs of the nature and mind from whence they both proceed: And if we conſider the journey's end, to which each of them carrieth us, I am confident the firſt yieldeth nothing to the ſecond, but indeed both meet in the period of beatitude. To clear this point (which is very well worth the wiſeſt man's moſt ſerious thoughts) we muſt conſider, what it is that bringeth us to this excellent ſtate, to be happy in the other world of eternity and immutability. It is agreed on all hands to be God's grace and favour to us: But all do not agree by what ſteps his grace produceth this effect. Herein I ſhall not trouble your Lordſhip with a long diſcourſe, how that grace worketh in us, (which yet I will in a word touch

touch anon, that you may conceive what I underſtand grace to be) but will ſuppoſe it to have wrought its effect in us in this life, and from thence examine what hinges they are that turn us over to beatitude and glory in the next. Some conſider God as a judge, that rewardeth or puniſheth men, according as they co-operated with or repugn'd the grace he gave. That according as their actions pleaſe or diſpleaſe him, he is well affected towards them, or angry with them; and accordingly maketh them effectually to feel the effects of his kindneſs or indignation. Others that fly a higher pitch, and are ſo happy,

----Ut rerum poterint cognoſcere cauſas,

do conceive that beatitude, and miſery in the other life, are effects that neceſſarily and orderly flow out

out of the nature of thoſe cauſes that begot them in this life, without engaging God Almighty to give a ſentence, and act the part of a judge, according to the ſtate of our cauſe, as it ſhall appear upon the accuſations and pleadings at his great bar. Much of this manner of expreſſion, is metaphorical, and rather adapted to preſerve vulgar minds duties (that are awed with the thought of a ſevere judge, ſifting every minute action of theirs) than ſuch as we muſt conceive their circumſtance of them to paſs ſo in reality as the literal ſound of the words ſeems to infer in ordinary conſtruction: and yet all that is true too, in its genuine ſenſe. But, my Lord, theſe more penetrating men, and who I conceive are virtuous upon higher and ſtronger motives (for they truly and ſolidly know why they are ſo) do conſiderthat what impreſſions are once made

made in the ſpiritual ſubſtance of a ſoul, and what aſſections it hath once contradicted, do ever remain in it till a contrary and diametrically contradicting judgment and affection, do obliterate it, and expel it thence, this is the reaſon why contrition, ſorrow and hatred for paſt ſins, is incharged us. If then the ſoul goes out of the body with impreſſions and affections to the objects, and pleaſures of this life, it continually lingereth after them, and as Virgil learnedly as well as wittly) ſaith,

------Quæ gratia currum,
Armorumque fuit vivis, quæ cura nitentes,
Paſcere equos eadem ſequitur tellure repoſtos.

But that being a ſtate wherein thoſe objects neither are, nor can be enjoyed, it muſt needs follow that ſuch a ſoul muſt be in an exceeding anguiſh, ſorrow and affliction, for being deprived of them; and for want

want of thoſe it ſo much prizeth, will neglect all other contentments it might have, as not having a reliſh or taſte moulded and prepared to the ſavouring of them; but like feaveriſh tongues, that, when they are even ſcorched with heat, take no delight in the moſt pleaſing liquors, but the ſweeteſt drinks ſeem bitter to them, by reaſon of their overflowing gall; ſo they even hate whatſoever good is in their power, and thus pine away a long eternity. In which the ſharpneſs and activity of their pain, anguiſh, and ſad condition, is to be meaſured by the ſenſibleneſs of their natures: which being then purely-ſpiritual, is in a manner infinitely more than any torment that in this life can be inflicted upon a dull groſs body. To this add, the vexation it muſt be to them, to ſee how ineſtimable and infinite a good they have loſt; and loſt meerly by their own fault,

and

and for momentary trifles, and childrens play; and that was ſo eaſy for them to have gained it, had they remained but in their right ſenſes, and governed themſelves according to reaſon. And then judge in what a tortured condition they muſt be, of remorſe and execrating themſelves for their moſt reſupine and ſenſeleſs madneſs. But if on the other ſide, a ſoul be releaſed out of this priſon of clay and fleſh, with affections ſettled upon intellectual goods, as truth, knowledge, and the like; and that it have attained to an irkſome diſlike of the flat pleaſures of this world; and looks upon carnal and ſenſual objects with a diſdainful eye, as diſcerning the contemptible inanity in them that is ſet off only by their painted outſide; and above all, that it have a longing deſire to be in the ſociety of that ſupereminent cauſe of cauſes, in which they know

know are heaped up the treaſure of all beauty, knowledge, truth, delight, and good whatſoever; and therefore are impatient at the delay, and reckon all their abſence from him as a tedious baniſhment; and in that regard hate their life and body as the cauſe of this divorce: ſuch a ſoul I ſay muſt neceſſarily, by reaſon of the temper it is wrought into, immediately at the inſtant of the body's diſſolution and its liberty, more contentment, more joy, more true happineſs, than it is poſſible for a heart of fleſh to have ſcarce any ſcantling of, much leſs to comprehend.

For immenſe knowledge is natural to it, as I have touched before. Truth, which is the adequate and ſatisfying object of the underſtanding, is there diſplayed in her own colours; or rather without any.

And that which is the crown of all, and in reſpect of which all the reſt

reſt is nothing; that infinite entity which above all things this ſoul thirſteth to be united unto, cannot for his own goodneſs ſake, deny his embraces to ſo affectionate a creature, and to ſuch an enflamed love. If he ſhould, then that ſoul, for being the beſt, and for loving him moſt, were condemned to be unhappieſt. For what joy could ſhe have in any thing, were ſhe barred from what ſhe ſo infinitely loveth? But ſince the nature of ſuperior and excellent things is to ſhower down their propitious influences, whereſoever there is a capacity of receiving them, and no obſtacle to keep them out, (like the ſun that illuminateth the whole air, if no cloud, or ſolid opacous body interveen) it followeth clearly, that this infinite ſun of juſtice, this immenſe ocean of goodneſs, cannot chuſe but environ with his beams, and repleniſh even beyond

ſatiety with his delightſom waters, a ſoul ſo prepared and tempered to receive them.

Now, my Lord, to make uſe of this diſcourſe, and apply it to what begot it, be pleaſed to determine which way will deliver us eveneſt and ſmootheſt to this happy end of our journey: To be virtuous for hope of reward, and through fear of puniſhment, or to be ſo out of a natural and inward affection to virtue, for virtue's and reaſon's ſake? Surely one in this latter condition, not only doth thoſe things which will bring him to beatitude; but he is ſo ſecured, in a manner, under an armour of proof, that he is almoſt invulnerable; he can ſcarce miſcarry, he hath not ſo much as an inclination to work contrarily, the alluring baits of this world tempt him not; he diſliketh, he hateth even his neceſſary commerce with them while he liveth. On the

the other ſide, the hireling that that ſteereth his courſe only by his reward and puniſhment, doth well I confeſs; but he doth it with reluctance, he carrieth the ark, God's image, his ſoul, ſafely home, it is true, but he loweth pitifully after his calves that he leaveth behind him among the Philiſtines. In a word, he is virtuous, but if he might ſafely, he would do vitious things. And hence is the ground in nature, if ſo I may ſay, of our purgatory. Methinks two ſuch minds may not unfitly be compared to two maids, whereof one hath a little ſprinkling of the green ſickneſs, and hath more mind to eat aſhes, chalk, or leather, than meats of ſolid and good nouriſhment; but forbeareth them, knowing the languiſhing condition of health it will bring her to: But the other having a ruddy, vigorous and perfect conſtitution, and enjoying a compleat, entire eucraſy, delights

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in no food but of good noutriture, and loaths the other's delights. Her health is diſcovered in her looks, and ſhe is ſecure from any danger of that malady, whereas the other, for all her good diet, beareth in her complexion ſome ſickly teſtimony of her depraved appetite; and if ſhe be not very wary, ſhe is in danger of a relapſe.

[a] It is fit, in this place, to examine our author's apprehenſion of the end of ſuch honeſt worthies and philoſphers, (as he calleth them) that dyed before Chriſt's incarnation, whether any of them could be ſaved or no? Truly, my Lord, I make no doubt at all, but if any followed in the whole tenor of their lives, the dictates of right reaſon, but that their journey was ſecure to heaven. Out of the former diſcourſe appeareth what temper of mind is neceſſary to get thither. And

[a] Sect. LII.

And that reaſon would dictate ſuch a temper to a perfectly judicious man, (tho' but in the ſtate of nature) as the beſt and moſt rational for him, I make no doubt at all. But it is moſt true, they are exceeding few, (if any) in whom reaſon worketh clearly, and is not overfwayed by paſſion and terrene affections; they are few that can diſcern what is reaſonable to be done in every circumſtance.

-----Pauci, quos æquus amavit
Jupiter, aut ardens evexit ad æthera virtus;
Diis geniti, potuere.--------

And fewer, that knowing what is beſt, can win of themſelves to do accordingly; (*video meliora proboque, deteriora ſequor*, being moſt mens caſes) ſo that, after all that can be expected at the hands of nature and reaſon in their beſt habit, ſince the lapſe of them, we may conclude, it would have been a moſt difficult thing

thing for any man, and a moſt impoſſible one for mankind, to attain unto beatitude, if Chriſt had not come to teach, and by his example to ſhew us the way.

And this was the reaſon of his incarnation, teaching life, and death: for being God, we could not doubt his veracity, when he told us news of the other world; having all things in his power, and yet enjoying none of the delights of this life: no man ſhould ſtick at forgoing them, ſince his example ſheweth all men that ſuch a courſe is beſt; whereas few are capable of the reaſon of it: and for this laſt act, dying in ſuch an afflicted manner, he taught us how the ſecureſt way to ſtep immediately into their perfect happineſs, is to be crucified to all the deſires, delights, and contentments of this world.

But to come back to our phyſician: truly, my Lord, I muſt needs

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pay him as his due, the acknowledging his pious diſcourſes to be excellent and pathetical ones, containing worthy motives, to incite one to virtue and to deter one from vice: thereby to gain heaven, and to avoid hell. Aſſuredly he is owner of a ſolid head, and of a ſtrong generous heart. Where he imployeth his thoughts upon ſuch things as reſort to no higher, or more abſtruſe principles than ſuch as occur in ordinary converſation with the world; or in the common tract of ſtudy and learning, I know no man would ſay better. But when he meeteth with ſuch difficulties as his next concerning the reſurrection of the body, (wherein, after deep meditation, upon the moſt abſtracted principles, and ſpeculations of the metaphyſicks, one hath much ado to ſolve the appearing contradictions in nature) there, I do not at all wonder he ſhould tread a little

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a-wry, and go aſtray in the dark; for I conceive his courſe of life hath not permitted him to allow much time unto the unwinding of ſuch entangled and abſtracted ſubtleties. But if it had, I believe his natural parts are ſuch as he might have kept the chair from moſt men I know: for even where he roveth wideſt, it is with ſo much wit and ſharpneſs, as putting me in mind of a great mans cenſure upon Joſeph Scaliger's Cyclometrica. (a matter he was not well verſed in) that he had rather err ſo ingeniouſly as he did, than hit upon truth in that heavy manner that the jeſuit his antagoniſt wrote his books in. Moſt aſſuredly his wit and ſmartneſs in this diſcourſe, is of the fineſt ſtandard; and his inſight into ſeverer learning, will appear as piercing unto ſuch as uſe not ſtrictly the touchſtone and the teſt, to examine every piece of the glittering coin,

coin, he payeth his reader with. But to come to the reſurrection[a]. Methinks it is but a groſs conception, to think that every atom of the preſent individual matter of a body; every grain of aſhes of a burned cadaver, ſcattered by the wind throughout the world, and after numerous variations changed peradventure into the body of another man, ſhould at the ſounding of the laſt trumpet be raked together again from all the corners of the earth, and be made up a new into the ſame body it was before of the firſt man. Yet if we will be chriſtians, and rely upon God's promiſes, we muſt believe that we ſhall riſe again with the ſame body, that walked about, did eat, drink, and live here on earth; and that we ſhall ſee our Saviour and Redeemer, with the ſame, the very ſame eyes, wherewith we now look upon the fading

[a] Sect. XLVI.

glories of this contemptible world.

How ſhall theſe ſeeming contrarieties be reconciled? if the latter be true why ſhould not the former be admitted? To explain this riddle the better, give me leave to aſk your Lordſhip if you now ſee the cannons, the enſignes, the arms, and other martial preparations at Oxford, with the ſame eyes, wherewith many years ago you looked upon Porphiry's and Ariſtotle's learned leaves there? I doubt not but you will anſwer me, aſſuredly with the very ſame. Is that noble and graceful perſon of yours, that begetteth both delight and reverence in every one that looketh upon it? Is that body of yours, that now is grown to ſuch comely and full dimenſions, as nature can give her none more advantagious, the ſame perſon, the ſame body, which your virtuous and excellent mother bore nine months in her chaſte and

honour-

honoured womb, and that your nurſe gave ſuck unto? Moſt certainly it is the ſame. And yet if you conſider it well, it cannot be doubted, but that ſublunary matter, being in a perpetual flux, and in bodies which have internal principles of heat and motion, much continually tranſpiring out to make room for the ſupply of a new aliment, at length, in long proceſs of time, all is ſo changed, as that ſhip at Athens may as well be called the ſame ſhip that was there two hundered years before, and whereof (by reaſon of the continual reparations) not one foot of the timber is remaining in her of which ſhe was built at the firſt: as this body now, can be called the ſame it was, forty years ago, unleſs ſome higher conſideration keep up the identity of it. Now what that is, let us examine, and whether or no it will reach to our difficulty of the reſurrection. Let

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us conſider then how that which giveth the numerical individuation to a body, is the ſubſtantial form. As long as that remaineth the ſame, tho' the matter be in a continual flux and motion, yet the thing is ſtill the ſame. There is not one drop of the ſame water in the Thames, that ran down by Whitehall yeſternight; yet no man will deny, but that it is the ſame river that was in Queen Elizabeth's time, as long as it is ſupplied from the ſame common ſtock, the ſea. Tho' this example reacheth not home, it illuſtrateth the thing. If then the form remain abſolutely the ſame after ſeparation from the matter, that it was in the matter, (which can happen only to forms, that ſubſiſt by themſelves as human ſouls) it followeth then, that whenſoever it is united to matter again, (all matter coming out of the ſame common magazine) it maketh again the ſame man,

man, with the ſame eyes, and all the ſame limbs that were formerly. Nay, he is compoſed of the ſame individual matter: for it hath the ſame diſtinguiſher and individuator; to wit, the ſame form or ſoul. Matter conſidered ſingly by itſelf, hath no diſtinction: all matter is in itſelf the ſame; we muſt fancy it, as we do the indigeſted chaos; it is an uniformly wild ocean. Particularize a few drops of the ſea, by filling a glaſs full of them, then that glaſs-full is diſtinguiſhed from all the reſt of the watery bulk: But return back theſe few drops to from whence they were taken, and the glaſs-full that even now had an individuation by itſelf, loſeth that, and groweth one and the ſame with the other main ſtock: Yet if you fill your glaſs again, whereſoever you take it up, ſo it be of the ſame uniform bulk of water you had before, it is the ſame glaſs-full of water that you had.

had. But, as I ſaid before, this example fitteth intirely, no more than the other did. In ſuch abſtracted ſpeculations, where we muſt conſider matter without form, (which hath no actual being) we muſt not expect adequated examples in nature. But enough is ſaid to make a ſpeculative man ſee, that if God ſhould join the ſoul of a lately dead man (even while his dead corps ſhould lye entire in his winding ſheet here) unto a body made of earth taken from ſome mountain in America, it were moſt true and certain, that the body he ſhould then leave by, were the ſame identical body he lived with before his death and late reſurrection. It is evident that ſame-neſs, this-neſs and that-neſs, belongeth not to matter by itſelf, (for a general indifference runneth through it all) but only as it is diſtinguiſhed and individuated by the form. Which, in

our caſe, whenſoever the ſame ſoul doth, it muſt be underſtood always to be the ſame matter and body.

This point thus paſſed over, I may add to it what our author ſaith of a magazine of ſubſiſtent forms reſiding firſt in the chaos, and hereafter (when the world ſhall be deſtroyed by fire) in the general heap of aſhes; out of which God's voice did, and ſhall, draw them out and cloath them with matter. This language were handſome for a poet or a rhetorician to ſpeak. But in a philoſopher, that ſhould reaſon ſtrictly and rigorouſly, I cannot admit it; for certainly there are no ſubſiſtent forms of corporeal things: (excepting the ſoul of man, which beſides being an informing form, hath another particular conſideration belonging to it, too long to ſpeak of here) but whenſoever that compound is deſtroyed, the form periſheth with the whole. And for

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the natural production of corporeal things; I conceive it to be wrought out by the action and paſſion of the elements among themſelves; which introducing new tempers and diſpoſitions into the bodies where theſe conflicts paſs; new forms ſucceed old ones, when the diſpoſitions are raiſed to ſuch a height as can no longer conſiſt with the preceeding form, and are in the immediate degree to fit the ſucceeding one, which they uſher in. The myſtery of all which I have at large unfolded in my above mentioned treatiſe of the immortality of the ſoul.

[a]I ſhall ſay no more to the firſt of our phyſician's diſcourſe, after I have obſerved how his conſequence is no good one, where he infereth, that if the devils foreknew who would be damned or ſaved, it would ſave them the labour, and end

[a] Sect. LV.

end their work of tempting mankind to miſchief and evil. For whatſoever their moral deſign and ſucceſs be in it, their nature impelleth them to be always doing it. For, on the one ſide, they are active in the higheſt degree, (as being pure acts, that is ſpirits,) ſo, on the other ſide, they are malign in as great an exceſs: By the one they muſt be always working whereſoever they may work, (like water in a veſſel full of holes, that will run out of every one of them which is not ſtopped). By the other, their whole work muſt be malicious and miſchievous. Joining then both theſe qualities together, it is evident they will always be tempting mankind, tho' they know they ſhall be fruſtrate of their moral end.

But were it not time that I made an end? Yes, it is more than time. And therefore, having once paſſed

the limit that confined what was becoming, the next ſtep carried me into the ocean of error; which being infinite, and therefore more or leſs bearing no proportion in it, I will proceed a little further, to take a ſhort ſurvey of his ſecond part; and hope for as eaſy pardon after this addition to my ſudden and indigeſted remarks, as if I had incloſed them up now.

Methinks, he beginneth with ſome what an affected diſcourſe, to prove his natural inclination to charity, which virtue is the intended theme of all the reſt of his diſcourſe. And I doubt he miſtaketh the loweſt orb or limb of that high ſeraphick virtue, for the top and perfection of it; and maketh a kind of human compaſſion to be divine charity. He will have it to be a general way of doing good: it is true, he addeth, for God's ſake; but he allayeth that again, with ſaying,

ing, he will have that good done as by obedience, and to accompliſh God's will, and looketh at the effects it worketh upon our ſouls but in a narrow compaſs; like one in the vulgar throng, that conſidereth God as a judge, and as a rewarder or a puniſher: whereas perfect charity is that vehement love of God for his own ſake, for his goodneſs, for his beauty, for his excellency, that carrieth all the motions of our ſouls directly and violently to him; and maketh a man diſdain, or rather hate all obſtacles that may retard his journey to him. And that face of it that looketh toward mankind with whom we live, and warmeth us to do others good, is but like the overflowing of the main ſtream, that ſwelling above its banks runneth over in a multitude of little channels.

I am not ſatisfied, that in the likneſs which he putteth between God

God and man, he maketh the difference between them to be but ſuch as between two creatures that reſemble one another; for between theſe, there is ſome proportion; but between the others none at all. In the examining of which diſcourſe, wherein the author obſerveth that no two faces are ever ſeen to be perfectly alike; nay, no two pictures of the ſame face were ever exactly made ſo; I could take occaſion to inſert a ſubtile and delightful demonſtration of Mr. Whites, wherein he ſhoweth how it is impoſſible that two bodies, for example two bowls, ſhould ever be made exactly like one another; nay, not rigorouſly equal in any one accident, as namely in weight, but that ſtill there will be ſome little difference, and inequality between them, (the reaſon of which obſervation, our author meddleth not with) were it not that I have been

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ſo long already, as digreſſions were now very unſeaſonable.

Shall I commend or cenſure our author, for believing ſo well of his acquired knowledge, as to be dejected at the thought of not being able to leave it for a legacy among his friends? Or ſhall I examine whether it be not a high injury to wiſe and gallant princes, who out of the generoſity, and nobleneſs of their nature do patronize arts and learned men, to impute their ſo doing to vanity of deſiring praiſe, or to fear of reproach?

But let theſe paſs: I will not ingage any that may befriend him in a quarrel againſt him. But I may ſafely produce Epictetus to contradict him, when he letteth his kindneſs engulf him in deep afflictions for a friend: For he will not allow his wiſe man to have an inward relenting, a troubled feeling, or compaſ-

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ſion of another's misfortunes that diſordereth the one, without any good to the other. Let him afford all the aſſiſtances and relief in his power; but without intermingling himſelf in the other's woe. As angels that do us good, but have no paſſion for us. But this gentleman's kindneſs goeth yet further: He compareth his love of a friend to his love of God, the union of friends ſouls by affection, to the union of three perſons in the Trinity, and to the hypoſtatical union of two natures in one Chriſt, by the Word's incarnation. Moſt certainly he expreſſeth himſelf to be a right good natured man: But if St. Auguſtine retracted ſo ſeverely his pathetical expreſſions for the death of his friend, ſaying, they ſavoured more of the rhetorical declamations of a young orator, than of the grave confeſſion of a devout Chriſtian, (or ſomewhat to that purpoſe) what

cenſure

cenſure upon himſelf may we expect of our phyſician, if ever he make any retraction of this diſcourſe concerning his religion?

It is no ſmall misfortune to him, that after ſo much time ſpent, and ſo many places viſited in curious ſearch, by travelling after the acquiſition of ſo many languages, after wading ſo deep in ſciences, as appeareth by the ample inventory and particular he maketh of himſelf: The reſult of all this ſhould be to profeſs ingenuouſly he had ſtudied enough, only to become a Sceptick; and that having run thro' all ſorts of learning, he could find reſt and ſatisfaction in none. This, I confeſs, is the unlucky fate of thoſe that light upon wrong principles. But Mr. White teacheth us how the theorems and demonſtrations of phyſicks may be linked and chained together as ſtrongly, and as continuedly as they are in mathe-

mathematicks, if men would but apply themſelves to a right method of ſtudy. And I do not find that Solomon complained of ignorance in the height of knowledge, (as this gentleman ſaith) but only, that after he hath rather acknowledged himſelf ignorant of nothing, but that he underſtood the natures of all plants, from the cedar to the hyſop, and was acquainted with all the ways and paths of wiſdom and knowledge, he exclaimeth that all this is but toil and vexation of ſpirit; and therefore adviſeth men to change human ſtudies into divine contemplations and affections.

I cannot agree to his reſolution of ſhutting his books, and giving over the ſearch of knowledge, and reſigning himſelf up to ignorance, upon the reaſon that moveth him, as tho' it were extreme vanity to waſte our days in the purſuit of that which,

which, by attending but a little longer, till death hath closed the eyes of our body, to open those of our soul, we shall gain with ease, we shall enjoy by infusion, and is an accessary of our glorification. It is true, so soon as death hath played the midwife to our second birth, our souls shall then see all truths, more freely than our corporeal eyes at our first birth see all bodies and colours, by the natural power of them, (as I have touched already) and not barely upon the grounds our author giveth. Yet far be it from us to think that time lost, which, in the interim, we shall laboriously imploy to warm ourselves with blowing a few little sparks of that glorious fire which we shall afterwards, in one instant, leap into the middle of, without danger of scorching. And that for two important reasons, (besides several others, too long to mention

here) the one for the great advantage we have by learning in this life; the other for the huge contentment that the acquiſition of it here, which implieth a ſtrong affection to it, will be unto us in the next life. The want of knowledge in our firſt mother, which expoſed her to be eaſily deceived by the ſerpent's cunning, was the root of all our enſuing miſery and woe. It is as true, which we are taught by irrefragable authority, that *omnis peccans ignorat:* And the ſpring-head of all the calamities, and miſchiefs in the world, conſiſteth of the troubled and bitter waters of ignorance, folly and raſhneſs; to cure which, the only remedy and antidote is the ſalt of true learning, the bitter wood of ſtudy, painful meditation, and orderly conſideration. I do not mean ſuch ſtudy as armeth wrangling champions for clamorous ſchools,

where

where the ability of ſubtle diſputing to and fro is more prized than the retrieving of truth; but ſuch as filleth the mind with ſolid and uſeful notions, and doth not endanger the ſwelling it up with windy vanities. Beſides, the ſweeteſt companion, and entertainment of a well tempered mind, is to converſe familiarly with the naked and bewitching beauties of thoſe miſtreſſes, thoſe truths and ſciences, which, by fair courting of them, they gain and enjoy; and every day brings new, freſh ones to their ſeraglio; where the moſt ancient never grow old or ſtale. Is there any thing ſo pleaſing, or ſo profitable as this?

-----Nil dulcius eſt, bene quam munita tenere
Edita doctrinæ, ſapientum templa ſerena;
Deſpicere unde queas alios, paſſimque videre
Errare, atque viam palanteis quærere vitæ.

But now if we conſider the advantage we ſhall have in the other life

life, by our affection to ſciences, and converſation with them in this, it is wonderfully great. Indeed that affection is ſo neceſſary, as without it we ſhall enjoy little contentment in all the knowledge we ſhall then be repleniſhed with: for every ones pleaſure, in the poſſeſſion of a good, is to be meaſured by his precedent deſire of that good; and by the quality of the taſte and reliſh of him that feedeth upon it. We ſhould therefore prepare, and make our taſte before-hand, by accuſtoming ourſelves to, and by often reliſhing what we ſhall then be nouriſhed with. That Engliſhman that can drink nothing but beer, or ale, would be ill beſtead, were he to go into Spain or Italy, where nothing but wine groweth: whereas a well experienced Goinfre, that can criticiſe upon the ſeveral taſtes of liquors, would think his palate in paradiſe, among thoſe delicious nectars,

nectars, to uſe Aretine's phraſe upon his eating of a lamprey. Who was ever delighted with tobacco the firſt time he took it? And who could willingly be without it after he was a while habituated to the uſe of it? How many examples are there daily of young men, that, marrying upon their fathers command, not through precedent affections of their own, have little comfort in worthy and handſome wives, that others would paſſionately affect? Archimedes loſt his life for being ſo raviſhed with the delight of a mathematical demonſtration, that he could not of a ſudden recall his enraptur'd ſpirits to attend the rude ſoldier's ſummons: but inſtead of him, whoſe mind had been always fed with ſuch ſubtile dyet, how many plain country gentlemen doth your Lordſhip and I know, that rate the knowledge of their husbandry at a much higher pitch;

pitch; and are extremely delighted by converſing with that? whereas the other would be moſt tedious and importunate to them. We may then ſafely conclude, that, if we will joy in the knowledge we ſhall have after death, we muſt in our life time raiſe within ourſelves earneſt affections to it, and deſires of it: which cannot be barren ones; but will preſs upon us to gain ſome knowledge by way of advance here; and the more we attain unto, the more we ſhall be in love with what remaineth behind. To this reaſon, then, add the other, how knowledge is the ſureſt prop, and guide of our preſent life; and how it perfecteth a man in that which conſtituteth him a man, his reaſon; and how it enableth him to tread boldly, ſteadily, conſtantly, and knowingly in all his ways: and I am confident, all men, that ſhall hear the caſe thus debated, will join with

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me in making it a ſuit to our phyſician, that he will keep his books open, and continue that progreſs he hath ſo happily begun.

But I believe your Lordſhip will ſcarcely join with him in his wiſh, that we might procreate and beget children without the help of women, or without any conjunction or commerce with that ſweet, and bewitching ſex. Plato taxed his fellow philoſopher, (tho' otherwiſe a learned and brave man) for not ſacrificing to the graces, thoſe gentle female goddeſſes. What thinketh your Lordſhip of our phyſician's bitter cenſure of that action which Mahomet maketh the eſſence of his paradiſe? Indeed beſides thoſe his unkindneſſes, or rather frowardneſſes, to that tender-hearted ſex, who muſt needs take it ill at his hands, methinks he ſetteth marriage at too low a rate, which is aſſuredly the higheſt and moſt divine

vine link of human ſociety: and where he ſpeaketh of Cupid, and of beauty, it is in ſuch a phraſe, as putteth me in mind of the learned Greek reader in Cambridge, his courting his miſtreſs out of Stephen's Theſaurus.

My next obſervation upon his diſcourſe draweth me to a logical conſideration of the nature of an exact ſyllogiſm: which kind of reflexion, tho' it uſeth to open the door in the courſe of learning and ſtudy, yet will almoſt ſhut it in my diſcourſe, which my following the thread that my author ſpinneth, aſſigneth to this place. If he had well and thoroughly conſidered all that is required to that ſtrict way of managing our reaſon, he would not have cenſured Ariſtotle for condemning the fourth figure, out of no other motive, but becauſe it was not conſonant to his own principles; and that it would not fit the foun-

foundations he himſelf had laid; tho' (ſaith he) it is conſonant to reaſon; which indeed it is not, at all times and in all circumſtances. In a perfect ſyllogiſm the predicate muſt be identified with the ſubject, and each extreme with the middle term, and ſo conquently all three with one another. But, in Galen's fourth figure, the caſe may ſo fall out, as theſe rules will not be current there.

As for the good and excellency that he conſidereth in the worſt things, and how far from ſolitude any man is in a wilderneſs; theſe are (in his diſcourſe) but equivocal conſiderations of good, and of loneliness: nor are they anyways pertinent to the morality of that part wherein he treateth of them.

I have much ado to believe what he ſpeaketh confidently; that he is more beholden to Morpheus for learned and rational, as well as plea-

ſing dreams, than to Mercury for ſmart and facetious conceptions; ſince Saturn (it ſeemeth by his relation) hath looked aſquint upon him in his nativity.

In his concluding prayer, wherein he ſummeth up all he wiſheth, methinks his arrow is not winged with that fire which I ſhould have expected from him upon this occaſion: for it is not the peace of conſcience, nor the bridling up of one's affections, that expreſſeth the higheſt delightfulneſs, and happieſt ſtate of a perfect Chriſtian. It is love only that can give us heaven upon earth, as well as in heaven, and bringeth us thither too: ſo that the Tuſcan Virgil had reaſon to ſay,

---------In alte dolcezze
Non ſi puo gioio, ſe non amando.

And this love muſt be employed upon the nobleſt and higheſt object, not terminated in our friends.

But

But of this tranſcendent and divine part of charity, that looketh directly and immediately upon God himſelf; and that is the intrinſecal form, the utmoſt perfection, the ſcope and final period of true religion, (this gentleman's intended theme, as I conceive) I have no occaſion to ſpeak any thing, ſince my author doth but tranſiently mention it; and that too, in ſuch a phraſe as ordinary catechiſms ſpeak of it to vulgar capacities.

Thus, my Lord, having run thro' the book (God knows how ſlightly, upon ſo ſudden a call) which your Lordſhip commanded me to give you an account of, there remaineth yet a weightier taſk upon me to perform; which is to excuſe myſelf of preſumption, for daring to conſider any moles in that face which you had marked for a beauty. But whoever well conſiders my manner of proceeding in theſe remarks,

he will free me from that cenſure. I offer not at judging of the prudence and wiſdom of this diſcourſe: theſe are fit inquiries for your Lordſhip's court of higheſt appeal; in my inferior one, I meddle only with little knotty pieces of particular ſciences; *Matinæ apis inſtar, operoſa parvus carmina fingo*; in which it were peradventure a fault for your Lordſhip to be too well verſed: your employments are of a higher and nobler ſtrain; and ſuch as concern the welfare of millions of men:

> Tu regere imperio populos, Sackville, memento,
> Hæ tibi erunt artes; paciſque imponere morem.

Such little ſtudies as theſe, belong only to thoſe perſons that are low in the rank they hold in the common wealth, low in their conceptions, and low in a languiſhing and ruſting leiſure; ſuch an one as Virgil

Virgil calleth *ignobile otium*, and ſuch an one as I am now lulled withal. If Alexander or Cæſar ſhould have commended a tract of land, as fit to fight a battle upon for the empire of the world, or to build a city upon, to be the magazine and ſtaple of all the adjacent countries; no body could juſtly condemn that husbandman, who, according to his own narrow art and rules, ſhould cenſure the plains of Arbela, or Pharſalia, for being in ſome places ſterile; or the meadows about Alexandria, for being ſometimes ſubject to be overflown: or could blame any thing he ſhould ſay in that kind, as being a contradiction unto the others commendations of thoſe places, which are built upon higher, and larger principles.

So my Lord, I am confident I ſhall not be reproached of unmannerlineſs, for putting in a demurrer unto a few little particularities in that

that noble diſcourſe, to which your Lordſhip gave a general applauſe; and by doing ſo, I have given your Lordſhip the beſt account I can of myſelf, as well as of your commands. You hereby ſee what my entertainments are, and how I play away my time,

---------Dorſet dum magnus ad altum
Fulminat Oxonium bello, victorque volentes
Per populos dat jura; viamq; affectat Olympo.

May your counſels there be happy, and ſucceſsful in bringing about that peace, with which if we be not quickly bleſſed, a general ruin threateneth the whole kingdom.

From Wincheſter-houſe the 22d (I think I may ſay the 23d, for I am ſure it is morning, and, I think, it is day) of December, 1642.

Your Lordſhips moſt humble and obedient ſervant,

KENELM DIGBY.

THE

THE POSTSCRIPT.

My Lord,

Looking over theſe looſe papers to point them, I perceive I have forgotten what I promiſed in eight ſheet to touch at, *i. e.* a word concerning grace: I do not conceive it to be a quality infuſed by God Almighty into a ſoul.

Such kind of diſcourſing ſatisfieth me no more in divinity, than in philoſophy. I take it to be the whole complex of ſuch real motives, of which a ſolid account may be given as incline a man to virtue, and piety; and are ſet on foot by God's particular grace and favour, to bring that work to paſs. As for example: to a man plunged in ſenſuality, ſome great misfortune hap-

happeneth, that mouldeth his heart to a tenderneſs, and inclineth him to much thoughtfulneſs: in this temper, he meeteth with a book, or a preacher, that repreſenteth, in a lively manner, to him the danger of his own condition; and giveth him hopes of greater contentment in other objects, after he ſhall have taken leave of his former beloved ſins. This begetteth further converſation with prudent and pious men, and experienced phyſicians in curing the maladies of the ſoul; whereby he is at laſt perfectly converted, and ſettled in a courſe of ſolid virtue, and piety.

Now theſe accidents of his misfortune, the gentleneſs and ſoftneſs of his nature, his falling upon a good book, his encountering with a pathetick preacher, the unpremeditated chance that brought him to hear his ſermon, his meeting with other worthy men, and the whole con-

concatenation of all the interveening accidents to work this good effect in him, and that were ranged, and disposed from all eternity, by God's particular goodness and providence for his salvation; and without which he had inevitably been damned; this chain of causes, ordered by God to produce this effect, I understand to be grace.

FINIS.

CRITICAL NOTES
UPON
RELIGIO MEDICI.
THE
FIRST PART.
PAGE I.

* *THE general ſcandal of my profeſſion.*] Phyſicians (of which profeſſion the author was) are commonly ill ſpoke of in this behalf. It it a common ſaying, *Ubi tres medici, duo athei.* The reaſons, why thoſe of that profeſſion are more ready to incur this cenſure, the author gives in *Sect.* 19. *Page* 52.

† *The natural courſe of my ſtudies.*] The vulgar lay not the imputation of atheiſm upon phyſicians alone, but upon philoſophers in general; who, becauſe they ſtudy to underſtand the operations of nature, are blamed, as tho' they reſted in the ſecond cauſes

cauſes, without any reſpect to the firſt. Hereupon it was, that in the tenth age, Pope Silveſter II. paſſed for a magician, becauſe he underſtood geometry, and natural philoſophy. *Baron. Annal.* 990. And Apuleius long before him laboured under the ſame ſuſpicion upon no better ground; he was accuſed, and made a learned apology for himſelf, and in that hath laid down the ground of ſuch accuſations, in theſe words: *Hæc ferme, communi quodam errore imperitorum, philoſophis objectantur, ut multos eorum qui corporum cauſas meras & ſimplices rimantur, irreligioſos putant, eoque aiunt Deos abnuere, ut Anaxagoram, & Lucippum, & Democritum, & Epicurum, cæteroſque rerum naturæ patronos.* Apul. in apolog. And it is poſſible that thoſe who look upon the ſecond cauſes ſcattered, may reſt in them and go no further, as my Lord Bacon in one of his eſſays obſerveth; but our author tells us, there is a true philoſophy, from which no man becomes an atheiſt. *Sect.* 48.

‡ *The indifferency of my behaviour,* &c.] The author's behaviour, and general method of reaſoning, as to matters of religion, was always inclining to moderation. Upon that account he eaſily foreſaw, and perhaps had undergone the imputation of atheiſm from the narrow minded bigots, who are ſo overſwayed by a prepoſterous zeal, that they hate

hate all moderation in discoursing of religion; they are the men forsooth------*qui solos credant habendos esse Deos quos ipsi colunt.*

‖ *Not that I meerly owe this title to the font*] as most do, taking up their religion according to the way of their ancestors; this is to be blamed amongst all persons: It was practised as well amongst Heathens as Christians.

Per caput hoc juro, per quod Pater ante solebat, saith Ascanius in Virgil: And Apuleius notes it for an absurdity. *Utrum philosopho putas turpe scire ista, an nescire? negligere, an curare? nosse quanta sit etiam in istis providentiæ ratio, an de diis immortalibus matri & patri credere?* saith he in apolog. and so doth *Minutius*: *Unusquisque vestrum non cogitat, prius se debere deum nosse quam colere, dum inconsulte gestiuntur parentibus obedire, dum fieri malunt alieni erroris accessio, quam sibi credere.* Minut. in octav.

Page 2. * *There being a geography of religions*,&c.] meaning the various denominations of Christians then spread thro' Europe.

Page 3. * *Wherein I dislike nothing but the name.*] The Protestant, as carrying with it an insinuation of enmity and discord, inconsistent with the peace and harmony prescribed by the gospel.

† *Now*

† *Now the accidental occaſion whereon*, &c.] The progreſs of the reformation, from its firſt beginning, is graphically deſcribed by Thuanus in his hiſtory, and by the author of the hiſtory of the council of Trent; which laſt gives the following account: That Pope Leo X. having, by his profuſion, exhauſted the treaſures of the church, he was conſtrained to have recourſe to the publiſhing of indulgences to raiſe money: ſome of which he had deſtined to his own treaſury, and other part to his allies; and particularly to his ſiſter he gave all the money that ſhould be raiſed in Saxony; and ſhe, that ſhe might make the beſt profit of the donation, commits it to one Aremboldus, a Biſhop, to appoint treaſurers for theſe indulgences. Now the cuſtom was, that whenſoever theſe indulgences were ſent into Saxony, they were to be diſperſed by the friars Eremites, (of which order Luther then was) but Aremboldus's agents thinking with themſelves, that the friars Eremites were ſo well acquainted with the trade, that if the buſineſs ſhould be left to them, they ſhould neither be able to give ſo good an account of their negotiation, nor yet get ſo much themſelves by it, as they might do in caſe the buſineſs were committed to another order; they thereupon recommend it to, and the buſineſs is undertaken by, the Do-

Dominican friars, who performed it ſo ill, that the ſcandal ariſing both from thence, and from the ill lives of thoſe that ſet them on work, ſtirred up Luther to write againſt the abuſes of theſe indulgences: which was all he did at firſt; but then, not long after, being provoked by ſome ſermons, and ſmall diſcourſes that had been publiſhed againſt what he had written, he rips up the buſineſs from the beginning, and publiſhes 95 Theſes againſt it at Wittenberg. Againſt theſe, Tekel a Dominican writes; then Luther adds an explication to his. Eckius and Prierius, Dominicans, thereupon take the controverſy againſt him: And now Luther begins to be hot; and becauſe his adverſaries could not found the matter of indulgences upon other foundations than the Pope's power and infallibility, this begets a diſpute betwixt them concerning the Pope's power, which Luther inſiſts upon as inferiour to that of a general council; and ſo by degrees he came on to oppoſe the popiſh doctrine of remiſſion of ſins, penances and purgatory; and by reaſon of Cardinal Cajetan's imprudent management of the conference he had with him, it came to paſs, that he rejected the whole body of popiſh doctrine. So that by this we may ſee what was the accidental occaſion whereon, the ſlender means whereby, and the abject

ject condition of the perſon by whom, the work of the reformation was ſet on foot.

Page 4. * *Yet have I not ſo ſhaken hands with theſe deſperate reſolutions*, &c. reſolvers it ought to be.] The author here intends the papiſts, theſe adverſaries whom he had mentioned in the preceeding ſection. And the meaning of the phraſe is not, what it would ſeem at firſt view, that he had ſo made peace with them, but that he had not ſo far ſeparated himſelf from them, or bid them adieu, as to ſtand diametrically oppoſite to them in every thing; for which he immediately after proceeds to give his reaſons.

Page 10. * *Henry* VIII. *tho' he rejected the Pope, refuſed not the faith of Rome.*] So Buchannan in his own life, written by himſelf, teſtifieth, who, ſpeaking of his coming into England about the latter end of that King's time, ſaith, *Sed ibi tum omnia adeo erant incerta, ut eodem die, ac eodem igne utriuſque factionis homines cremarentur, Henrico VIII. jam ſeniore, ſuæ magis ſecuritati quam religionis puritati intento.* And for confirmation of this aſſertion, *vide Stat.* 31. *Hen. VIII. cap.* 14.

† *The ſtate of Venice would have attempted in our days.*] This expectation was in the

the time of Pope Paul V. who, by excommunicating that republick, gave occaſion to the Senate to baniſh all ſuch of the clergy as would not, on account of the Pope's prohibition, adminiſter the ſacraments; and upon that account the Jeſuites were caſt out, and never ſince received into that ſtate.

Page 11. * *Or be angry with his judgment*, &c.] Our author's thought here is much the ſame with that of Monſ. Montaigne, whom he has often in his eye, *Combien diverſement jugeons nous de choſes? Combien de fois changeons nous nos fantaſies? Ce que je tiens aujourdhuy, ce que je crois, je le tiens & le crois de toute ma crioance; mais ne m'eſt il pas advenu non une fois, mais cent, mais mille, & tous les jours d'avoir embraſſe quelque autre choſe* &c.? Montaigne lib. 2. *des eſſais*, cap. 12.

Page 12. * *Every man is not a proper champion for truth*, &c.] A good cauſe is never betrayed more than when it is proſecuted with much eagerneſs, and but little ſufficiency; and therefore Zuinglius, tho' he were of Caroloſtadius's opinion, in the point of the ſacrament of the euchariſt, againſt Luther; yet he blamed him for undertaking the defence of that cauſe againſt Luther, not judging him able enough for the

encounter: *Non ſatis habet humerorum,* ſaith he of Caroloſtade, alluding to that of Horace,

Sumite materiam veſtris, qui ſcribitis, æquam
Viribus, & verſate diu quid ferre recuſent
Quid valeant humeri.-----

So Minutius Fœlix; *Plerumque pro diſſerentium viribus, & eloquentiæ poteſtate, etiam perſpicuæ veritatis conditio mutetur*: Minut. in Octav. And Lactantius ſaith, this truth is verified in Minutius himſelf: For he ſpares not to blame Him, Tertullian and Cyprian, (all of them) as if they had not with dexterity enough defended the Chriſtian cauſe againſt the Heathens. *Lactant. de juſtitia, cap.* 1. I could wiſh that thoſe that ſucceeded him had not as much cauſe of complaint againſt him: ſurely he is noted to have had many errors *contra fidem.*

Page 14. * *For indeed hereſies periſh not with their authors.*] Monſ. Montaigne, l. 2. *des eſſ.* cap. 12. ſays, *Nature enſerre, dans les termes de ſon progres ordinaire, comme toutes autres choſes, auſſi les creances, les judgements & opinions des hommes; elles ont leur revolutions.* And Cicero *de nat. Deor.* l. 1. ſays, *Non enim hominum interitu ſententiæ quoque occidunt.*

† *Like the river Arethuſa,* &c.] *Videbis celebratiſſimum carminibus fontem Arethuſam, limpidiſſimi ac perlucidiſſimi ad imum ſtagni, gelidi-*

gelidiſſimas aquas profundentem, ſive illas primum naſcentes invenit, ſive flumen integrum ſubter tot maria, & a confuſione pejoris undæ ſervatum reddidit. Senec. *de conſolat. ad* Martiam.

Page 15. * *Now the firſt of mine was that of the Arabians*,&c.] In this ſection, our author proceeds to enumerate the hereſies wherewith he had juſt now ſaid his greener ſtudies had been polluted. The firſt of theſe is the hereſy of the Arabians, ſo called, becauſe it appeared and ſpread firſt in Arabia, and that the broacher of it was unknown. The doctor has fully ſhown what it was. It was thought ſo ſpecious and reaſonable, that Pope John XXII. came to be of that perſuaſion; and it is remarkable that Bellarmine, tho' he condemns the opinion, yet inſiſts, that Pope John was nevertheleſs infallible: For, ſaith he, he maintained this opinion when he might do it without danger of hereſy; as at the time when he held that opinion there was no definition of the church making it hereſy.

Page 16. l. 11. *The ſecond was that of Origen*, &c.] The opinion of Origen as related by St. Auguſtine, Epiphanius and St. Jerom, was, that not the ſouls of men only, but the devils themſelves ſhould be diſcharged

charged from torture, after a certain finite time. But ſome have endeavoured to clear Origen from holding this opinion. See a very nervous apology for this opinion, wrote in a ſeries of letters by a late French author, intitled, "The ſyſtems of the ancients and "moderns reconciled as to the ſtate of de-"parted ſouls."

Page 17. l. 4. *The prayer for the dead.*] This is our author's third hereſy, and was gone into by ſeverals of the primitive Chriſtians, who, tho' they did not admit of purgatory as an article of their faith, yet offered up prayers for the dead. St. Auguſtine's teſtimony in this point is expreſs. In his book *de cura pro mortuis*; he ſays, *Legitur oblatum pro mortuis ſacrificium: ſed licet nunquam in ſcripturis veteribus omnino legeretur, non parva univerſæ eccleſiæ, quæ in hac conſuetudine claret, authoritas; ubi in precibus ſacerdotis, quæ domino ad altare funduntur, locum habet etiam commendatio mortuorum.*

Ibid. *Therefore theſe opinions*, &c.] To make a heretick it was held, that there muſt be not only *error in intellectu*, but *pertinacia in voluntate*. Like the furious zealots, who would mingle heaven and earth together to propagate their frantick opinions.

Page

Page 23. * *I'd as ſoon chuſe you would tell me, that,* anima eſt angelus hominis, &c.] Various were the definitions of the ancient philoſophers of the ſoul. The Caldeans held it, a virtue without form; Xenocrates and the Egyptians, a moving number; Parmenides, a compound of light and darkneſs; Heſiod and Anaximander, a conſiſtence of earth and water; Varro, an heated and diſperſed air; Thales, a nature without repoſe; Aſclepiades, an exercitation of ſenſe; Heraclides ſuppoſed it to be light; Empedocles, to be blood; Zeno, the quinteſſence of the elements; Hippocrates, a ſpirit diffuſed through the body; Galen, a hot complexion; Plato, a ſelf-moving ſubſtance; and, Ariſtotle, an entelechia, *i. e.* that which makes the body to move. But this laſt definition is as rigid as any of the other; for this tells us not what the eſſence, origin or nature of the ſoul is, but only marks an effect of it; and therefore ſignifieth no more than if he had ſaid, as the author's phraſe is, that it is *angelus hominis*, or an intelligence that moveth man, as he ſuppoſed thoſe to do the heavens.

Ibid. l. 15. *Lux eſt umbra Dei*, as *actus perſpicui.*] This definition of light, that it is *actus perſpicui*, given by Ariſtotle, is equally obſcure with the former, and conveys no idea of the thing intended to the mind.

mind. For what the wiſer is any man, to tell him, that colour doth move *actu perſpicuum*, when he is not told how it comes to be perſpicuous, which is the thing inquired after. The burdenſom explanations of theſe definitions by the commentators give no light to them, but have rather covered them over with a thicker obſcurity. But there is no occaſion to endeavour to develope theſe now a-days, ſince a clearer, and more rational philoſophy has ſhone out in the world, not dependent on the whimſical ſyſtems of moping philoſophers, but upon experiment and a faithful obſervation of the works of nature.

Page 24. l. 9. *For God had not cauſed it to rain upon the earth*, Gen. ii. 5.] St. Auguſtine *de geneſ. ad liter. & l.* 1. *c.* 5. 6. endeavours to ſolve this difficulty. But the Doctor, in his vulgar errors, l. 7. c. 1. ſhows that we have no reaſon to be confident, that this fruit was an apple.

Ibid. * *I believe that the ſerpent*, &c.] Yet the Doctor, in his vulgar errors, l. 7. c. 1. ſays, that the form or kind of this ſerpent is not agreed on; yet Comeſtor affirmed it was a dragon, Eugubinus a baſiliſk, Delrio a viper, and others a common ſnake: but of what kind ſoever it was, he ſheweth in the ſame volume, *l.* 5. *c.* 4. that

that there was no inconveniency, that the temptation ſhould be performed in his proper ſhape.

Page 24. l. 15. *Trial of the pucelage and virginity of women*, &c. *vide* Deut. xxii. 15.] In order to anſwer any objection on this head, divines have had recourſe to the peculiar diſpenſation given by God to the Jews, of which this was a part, and not common, or at leaſt not holding univerſally among other nations.

There is ſomething very ſimilar to this found in profane hiſtory, and in an hiſtorian of undoubted veracity, Julius Cæſar, who in his comment. *lib.* 6. *c.* 21. writing of the manners of the Germans, ſays, *Qui diutiſſime impuberes permanſerunt, maximam inter ſuos ferunt laudem: hoc ali ſtaturam, ali vires, nervoſque confirmari putant: intra annum vero vigeſimum feminæ notitiam habuiſſe, in turpiſſimis habent rebus; cujus rei nulla eſt occultatio, quod, & promiſcue in fluminibus perluuntur, & pellibus, aut parvis renonum tegumentis utuntur, magna corporis parte nuda.*

Ibid. † *But likewiſe whole nations have eſcaped the curſe of child-birth*, &c.] For this take the authority of Monſ. Montaigne. *Les douleurs de l'enfantement, par les medicines & par Dieu meſme eſtimees grandes, & que nous paſſons avec tant de ceremonies,*

il

il y a des nations entieres qui n'en ſont nulle compte, liv. 1. *c.* 40.

Page 25. l. 12. *I remember I'am not alone,* &c.] "When you ſhut your door, and "have darkened your chamber, by no means "think you are alone: For truly you are "not alone; but God is in the chamber with "you, and your genius is with you." *Arrian. diſſert. in Epict. lib.* 1. *c.* 14.

Ibid. * *Who can ſpeak of eternity without a ſoleciſm?* &c.] Eternity, tho' incomprehenſible by finite minds, has yet been attempted to be defined by philoſophers, whoſe pride has carried them ſo far as to pretend to a clear comprehenſion, and a capacity of giving diſtinct definitions of every thing they treat of. *Boetius in conſol. phil. lib.* 5. defines it, *Interminabilis vitæ tota ſimul ac perfecta poſſeſſio.* Cicero ſays, *Illam nulla circumſcriptio temporum metitur; de nat. Deorum.* And Cenſorinus, *de die natali, c.* 16. defines it, *Tempus unum & maximum, immenſum, ſine origine, ſine fine, quod eodem modo ſemper fuit, & ſemper futurum eſt.* None of which give us any clear idea of the thing defined, and may convince us, that, tho', as the author ſays, we may comprehend time, yet eternity is beyond our reach.

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Page 26. * *God hath not made a creature that can comprehend him*, &c.] Mr. Pope, after conſidering man in the abſtract, and in relation to God and the world, comes to this concluſion;

Know then thyſelf; preſume not God to ſcan.
The proper ſtudy of mankind is man.
Pope's eſſay on man, Ep. 2. v. 1.

Page 27. * *I wonder how Ariſtotle could conceive the world eternal*, &c.] Ariſtotle ſtands almoſt ſingular in this tenet among the ancient philoſophers. It was indeed, many ages after, revived by Manilius in his *Aſtron. lib.* 1.

Hæc æterna manet diviſque ſimillima forma;
Cui neque principium eſt uſquam, neque finis in ipſo:
Sed ſimilis toto remanet, perque omnia par eſt.

And afterwards he ſays,

At manet incolumis mundus, ſuaque omnia verſat,
Quæ non longa dies auget, minuitque ſenectus,
Nec motus puncto currit, curſuque fatigat.
Idem ſemper erit, quoniam ſemper fuit idem;
Non alium videre patres, aliumve nepotes
Aſpiciunt, &c.

But to theſe may be oppoſed the names of Orpheus, Thales, Heſiod, Plato, Euripides, Sophocles, and almoſt every name known in the more ancient philoſophy: beſides, the Phenicians, Ægyptians, Indians, and other nations remarkable for improvements in philoſophy. And in the later antiquity, Cicero, Seneca, Epictetus, Iamblychus, &c. among the philoſophers; and among the poets, Virgil, Ovid, and, (to inſtance no more) the Epicurean poet, Lucretius, whoſe argument is ſufficiently definitive in the point.

Præterea ſi nulla fuit genitalis origo
Terrai & cæli, ſemperque æterna fuere;
Cur ſupra bellum Thebanum, aut funera Trojæ,
Non alias alii quoque res cecinere poetæ.

Lib. 5. v. 325.

Vid. etiam Hug. Grot. de verit. rel. chriſt. lib. 1. c. 7. & ibi annotat.

Page 28. * *For there is in us not three, but a trinity of ſouls,* &c.] The Doctor here alludes to the common diviſion of the ſoul, by the ſcholaſtick philoſophers, into the vegetative, ſenſitive and rational ſoul. This ſubject has given occaſion for much wrangling in the ſchools, and no leſs commotion in the church, where it has been the ſubject

ject of inquiry of general councils, and object of anathemas thundered out againſt it.

Page 34. * *There is but one firſt cauſe, and four ſecond cauſes of all things.*] The firſt he mantains in oppoſition to the Manichees, who, in order to account for the exiſtence of apparent moral and natural evil, imagined two ſupreme beings, independent of one another; the one, the author of all the good, the other of all the evil in the univerſe. The ſecond he advances agreeable to the ſcholaſtick philoſophy, which maintained four ſecond cauſes, viz. the material, efficient, formal and final; and in oppoſition to the Platoniſts who added a fifth, viz. the idea or exemplar in the mind of God. As Boetius,

-------Tu cuncta ſuperno
Ducis ab exemplo, pulchrum pulcherrimus ipſe
Mundum mente gerens, ſimilique in imagine formans,
Perfectaſque jubens perfectum abſolvere parteis.

De conſ. philoſ. lib. 3. met. 9.

Page 36. * *There are no groteſks in nature.*] *Il n'y a rien d'inutil en nature, non pas inutilites memes; rien ne s'eſt ingere en*

en cet univers que n'y tienne place opportune.
Les eſſ. de Montaigne, lib. 3. c. 1.

This is a neceſſary conſequence of the world's being framed by an infinitely wiſe, and all powerful being, whoſe work muſt undoubtedly be the beſt; and as Mr. Pope ſays,

Where all muſt full, or not coherent be,
And all that riſes, riſe in due degree.

Page 36. l. 17. *Indeed what reaſon may not go to ſchool to the wiſdom of bees, ants and ſpiders?* &c.] This thought is very beautifully expreſſed and enlarged by Mr. Pope.

See him from nature riſing ſlow to art!
To copy inſtinct then was reaſon's part;
Thus then to man the voice of nature ſpake---
"Go! from the creatures thy inſtructions take;
"Learn from the birds, what food the thickets yield;
"Learn from the beaſts, the phyſick of the field;
"Thy arts of building from the bee receive;
"Learn of the mole to plow, the worm to weave;
"Learn of the little Nautilus to ſail,
"Spread the thin oar, and catch the driving gale.

"Here

"Here too all forms of ſocial union find;
"And hence let reaſon, late, inſtruct mankind:
"Here ſubterranean works and cities ſee,
"There towns aerial on the waving tree.
"Learn each ſmall people's genius, policies;
"The ants republick, and the realm of bees.
"How thoſe in common all their ſtores beſtow,
"And anarchy without confuſion know;
"And theſe for ever, tho' a monarch reign,
"Their ſep'rate cells and properties maintain.
"Mark what unvari'd laws preſerve their ſtate;
"Laws wiſe as nature, and as fix'd as fate.
"In vain thy reaſon finer webs ſhall draw,
"Entangle juſtice in her net of law,
"And right too rigid harden into wrong,
"Still for the ſtrong too weak, the weak too ſtrong.
"Yet go! and thus o'er all the creatures ſway,
"Thus let the wiſer make the reſt obey,

"And

"And for thoſe arts meer inſtinct could afford,
"Be crown'd as monarchs, or as gods ador'd.

Eſſay on man, Ep. 3. *v.* 170, &c.

Page 37. * *Who admires not Regiomontanus's fly beyond his eagle?*] Of theſe Du Bartas.

-------Que diray-je de l'aigle
Dont un docte Aliman honora noſtre ſiecle?
Aigle, qui deſlogeant de la maiſtreſſe main,
Alla loin au devant d'un Empereur Germain:
Et l'ayant rencontre, ſoudain d'une aile accorte
Se tournant le ſuivit juſqu' au ſueil de la porte
Du forte Nurembergeois, que les piliers dorez,
Les tapiſſez chemins, les arcs elabourez,
Les fourdroyans canons, ny la jeuneſſe Iſnelle,
Ni le chenu ſenat, n'honoroient tant comme elle.
Un jour, que cet ouvrier, plus d'esbats que de mets
En prive feſtoyoit ſes ſeigneurs plus aimez,
Une mouche de fer dans ſa main recelee,
Prit ſans aide d'autruy ſa gaillarde volee,

Fit

Fit une entier ronde, & puis d'un cerceau las.
Comme ayant jugement, ſe percha ſur ſon bras.

Sixieme jour de la ſep. ſer. 845.

Beſides theſe, there are ſeveral other pieces of ſurpriſing mechaniſm recorded in hiſtory, as Attila's wooden pigeon, which flew of itſelf; Albertus's brazen head, which ſpoke, and the famous ſtatue of Memnon, which ſpoke and moved when touched by the rays of the ſun.

Page 37. † *Or wonders not more at the operation of two ſouls in thoſe little bodies, than but one in the trunk of a cedar.*] That is the ſenſitive and vegetative in inſects, and only the vegetative in trees and plants. The Epicureans and Stoicks denied any ſoul at all to theſe laſt: But Empedocles and Plato allowed them not only a vegetative ſoul, but affirmed them to be animals. The Manichees went farther, and attributed ſo much of the rational ſoul to them, that they accounted it homicide to gather either their flowers or fruits, as St. Aug. reports.

‡ *Coſmography of myſelf.*] Man is called a microcoſme, or little world, Hence Manilius, lib. 4.

------Quid mirum, noſcere mundum
Si poſſunt homines, quibus eſt & mundus in ipſis.

Ibid.

Ibid. l. 23. *We are that bold and adventurous piece of nature*, &c.]

Plac'd on this Iſthmus of a middle ſtate,
A being darkly wiſe and rudely great:
With too much knowledge for the ſceptic ſide,
With too much weakneſs for the Stoic's pride,
He hangs between: in doubt to act, or reſt,
In doubt to deem himſelf a god, or beaſt;
In doubt, his mind or body to prefer,
Born but to die, and reas'ning but to err;
Alike in ignorance, his reaſon ſuch,
Whether he thinks too little, or too much;
Chaos of thought and paſſion, all confus'd;
Still by himſelf abus'd, or diſ-abus'd;
Created half to riſe, and half to fall;
Great Lord of all things, yet a prey to all;
Sole judge of truth, in endleſs error hurl'd:
The glory, jeſt, and riddle of the world!
Eſſay on man, Ep. 2. v. 3, &c.

Page 42. † *Nature is the art of God.*] The concluſion of Mr. Pope's firſt epiſtle may ſerve as a commentary upon what is ſaid by our author in this, and what follows in the next

next ſection, with reſpect to the ways of God.

All nature is but art, unknown to thee;
All chance, direction which thou canſt not ſee;
All diſcord, harmony not underſtood;
All partial evil, univerſal good:
And ſpite of pride, in erring reaſon's ſpite,
One truth is clear; "Whatever *Is*, is "RIGHT."

Page 44. * *The meer hand of God.*] The doubts which ariſe in the mind of man, upon a view of the apparent inequalities in the moral world, are very well deſcribed by Claudian *in Rufinum, lib.* 1. Theſe he ſays had almoſt quite eradicated the notions he had of the ſuperintendency of a juſt God.

Sed cum res hominum tanta caligine volvi
Adſpicerem, lætoſque diu florere nocentes,
Vexarique pios: rurſus labefacta cadebat
Religio, cauſæque viam non ſponte ſequebar
Alterius, vacuo quæ currere ſemina motu
Affirmat, magnumque novas per inane figuras
Fortuna, non arte, regi: quæ Numina ſenſu
Ambigua vel nulla putat, vel neſcia noſtri.
Abſtulit hunc tandem Rufini pœna tumultum,
Abſolvitque Deos.-----

And Seneca in Oedip. Act. 5.

Quicquid patimur mortale genus,
Quicquid facimus, venit ex alto.

Page 45. * *All cannot be happy at once,* &c.] This theme is ingeniously handled by Mr. Montaigne liv. 1. des Ess. cap. 22. the title whereof is, *Le profit de l'un est dommage de l'autre.*

Page 47. * *'Tis the common fate of men of singular gifts of mind, to be destitute of those of fortune.*] *Amor ingenii neminem unquam divitem fecit.* Petron. Arbiter. And Apuleius in apolog. *Idem mihi etiam,* (saith he) *paupertatem opprobravit acceptum philosopho crimen & ultro profitendum;* and then a little afterwards, he sheweth that it was the common fate of those that had singular gifts of mind: *Eadem enim est paupertas, apud Græcos in Aristide justa, in Phocyone benigna, in Epaminonde strenua, in Socrate sapiens, in Homero diserta.*

Page 48. * *We have no just cause to quarrel with nature for leaving us naked, or to envy the horns, hoofs* &c.]

What would this man? now upward will
he soar,
And little less than angel, would be more;

Now

Now looking downward, juſt as griev'd appears
To want the ſtrength of bulls, the fur of bears.
Made for his uſe, all creatures if he call;
Say what their uſe, had he the pow'rs of all;
Nature to theſe, without profuſion kind,
The proper organs, proper pow'rs aſſign'd:
Each ſeeming want compenſated of courſe,
Here, with degrees of ſwiftneſs, there, of force:
All in exact proportion to their ſtate,
Nothing to add, and nothing abate.
Each beaſt, each inſect, happy in its own,
Is heaven unkind to man, and man alone?
Shall he alone, whom rational we call,
Be pleas'd with nothing, if not bleſs'd with all?

And afterwards,

Why has not man a microſcopic eye?
For this plain reaſon, man is not a fly.
Eſſ. on man, Ep. 1. *v.* 165, *&c.*

Page 50. l. 2. *Yet is God the true and infallible cauſe of all,* &c.]

All are but parts of one ſtupenduous whole,
Whoſe body nature is, and God the ſoul;
That, chang'd thro' all, and yet in all the ſame,
Great in the earth, as in th' æthereal frame,

Warms

Warms in the ſun, refreſhes in the breeze,
Glows in the ſtars, and bloſſoms in the trees,
Lives thro'all life, extends thro'all extent,
Spreads undivided, operates unſpent,
Breaths in our ſoul, informs our mortal part,
As full, as perfect in a hair, as heart,
As full, as perfect in vile man that mourns,
As the rapt ſeraph that adores and burns;
To him, no high, no low, no great, no ſmall:
He fills, he bounds, connects, and equals all.
*Eſſ. on man, Ep.*1. *v.* 259.

Page 50. * *For there is in our ſouls a kind of triumvirate, or triple government of three competitors*, &c.] Theſe are reaſon, paſſion or ſelf-love, and faith or revealed religion. The poet and philoſopher, ſo often cited above, in his ſecond epiſtle of the *Eſſay on man*, has fully conſidered the two firſt in a natural view; he has with the greateſt juſtneſs of thought, adorned with the moſt beautiful numbers, pointed out the various purpoſes of theſe two principles in human nature, their joint combination towards one great end of human happineſs; and how that end is to be obtained, by a proper application of them, and a due ſubordination of the one to the other. But natural light being too weak for thoroughly

ly attaining this end, a farther aſſiſtance is neceſſary; and that is pointed out by revealed religion, or faith. This by no means ſuperſedes a due regulation of the two former principles, but rather enforces it; and all the three combine, when under a juſt regimen, to compoſe a triumvirate, as the Doctor calls it, perfectly calculated to promote both the temporal peace and eternal happineſs of mankind.

. Page 52. * † *Bitumen, Naphta.*] Naturaliſts alledge it is the property of theſe two to be kindled at the touch of water, and that the firſt is extinguiſhable only by oil, and the ſecond by throwing earth on it. *Vid. Plin. lib.* 35. *c.* 15. and *l.* 2. *c.* 5.

Page 53. * *The combuſtion of Sodom might be natural*, &c.] Of this opinion was Strabo, who aſcribed the formation of the lake, and the burning of the city to hot bituminous waters, which burſt out flaming from the earth at the time of an earthquake, *l.* 16. For which opinion he is reprehended by Genbrard: *Strabo falſus eſt*, ſays he, *dum everſionem addicit ſulphuri & bitumini e terra erumpentibus, quæ erat aſſignanda cœlo*, i. e. *Deo irato*. Tacitus, *l.* 5. *c.* 6. hiſt. reports it agreeable to the ſcripture account, *Fulminis ictu arſiſſe*, &c.

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Page 54. * *There never was any atheiſts,* &c.] *Nulla gens tam fera, nemo omnium tam immanis, quem non imbuerit Deorum opinio.* Cicero. Tuſcul. quæſt. l. 3.---- *Illos qui nullum omnino Deum eſſe dixerunt, non modo philoſophos, ſed ne homines quidem fuiſſe dixerim.* Lactant. l. 7. c. 9. *Religioni ergo ſerviendum, quam qui non ſuſcipit ipſe ſe proſternit in terram, & vitam pecudum ſecutus humanitate ſe abdicat.* ibid. c. 10.

Ibid. l. 9. *That doctrine of Epicurus,* &c.] This opinion of his is recorded by Diogenes Laertius, lib. 10. *Quod beatum æternumque eſt, id nec habet ipſum negotii quicquam, nec exhibet alteri; itaque neque ira, neque gratia tenetur, quod quæ talia ſunt imbecillia ſunt omnia;* which the Epicurean poet hath delivered almoſt in the ſame words.

Omnis enim per ſe divum natura neceſſe eſt
Immortali ævo, ſumma cum pace, fruatur,
Semota a noſtris rebus ſejunctaque longe:
Nam privata dolore omni, privata periclis,
Ipſa ſuis pollens opibus, nihil indiga noſtri,
Nec bene pro meritis capitur, nec tangitur ira. Lucret. lib. 2. v. 645.

Page 55. * *That villain and ſecretary of hell,* &c.] This was Bernhardinus Ochinus. A few others are likewiſe remarkable for uttering their impious notions, as the Emperor Frederick II. *Cui ſæpe in ore, tres*

fuiſſe

fuiſſe inſignes impoſtores, qui génus humanum ſeduxerunt, Moyſem, Chriſtum & Mahumetum. Lipſ. monit. & exemp. politic. c. 4. The impious expreſſion of Pope Leo X. is well known,

O quantum nobis profuit hæc fabula Chriſti!

And Julius Cæſar Vanini on that account was branded as an atheiſt, and ſuffered for his doctrines at Tholouſe. But none of theſe, Vanini excepted, denied the exiſtence and ſuperintendency of a ſupreme being.

Page 57. * *Sampſon.*] His hiſtory, as recorded in the book of Judges from his conception to his death, is indeed, as the Doctor ſays, ſuperior in wonder to any fabulous legend, if conſidered only by the eye of reaſon. But if the caution given by the Doctor, that the divine influence was with him, be attended to, the whole reſolves into a a miracle, or the immediate operation of God.

Page 59. * *In autumn, ſummer or ſpring,* &c.] The ancients believed the world firſt began with ſpring. To this purpoſe Lucretius,

At novitas mundi nec frigora dura ciebat,
Nec nimios æſtus, nec magnis viribus auras.

And

And again,

Principio genus alituum, variæque volucres
Ova reliquebant excluſæ tempore verno.

And Virgil to the ſame purpoſe,

Non alios prima naſcentis origine mundi
Illuxiſſe dies, aliumve habuiſſe tenorem
Crediderim, ver illud erat, ver magnus agebat
Orbis, & hibernis parcebant flatibus Euri.
Georgic. lib. 2.

The Church Doctors have diſagreed much in this point. See the author's opinion at large in his *Vulgar Errors*, *l.* 6. *c.* 2.

Page 60. * *To drown the general flood of Noah*, &c.] There are ſome great particular deluges recorded by ancient hiſtorians; but even the flood of Deucalion is mentioned by ſeveral of them to have been univerſal. *Lucian*, *de Dea Syra*, ſays expreſsly, that Deucalion for his piety was preſerved in an ark, with his wives and children; and that all men ſprung from this Deucalion. And Plutarch, in his book *utrum animantia*, &c. makes particular mention of the dove ſent out of the ark by Deucalion. From which, and many other inſtances, it appears evident, that this great deluge of the ancients was no other than that of Noah, whoſe memory was preſerved

ved by tradition under the name of Deucalion.

Page 60. † *How all the kinds of creatures*, &c.] This has occaſioned no ſmall difficulty to the advocates for religion. Solutions of it have been attempted by Origen, St. Auguſtin and others, upon the ſuppoſition of the cubits mentioned in the meaſure of the ark being geometrical, not vulgar cubits: But even that has received an anſwer. 'Tis a pity the Doctor has not given us his ſolution of it.

Ibid. ‡ *The honeſt father*, &c.] St. Auguſtin *de civ. Dei, lib.* 16. *cap.* 7. *Quod ſi homines eas captas ſecum adduxerunt, & eo modo ubi habitabant earum genera inſtituerunt, venandi ſtudio fieri potuiſſe incredibile non eſt, quamvis juſſu Dei, ſive permiſſu, vel etiam opera angelorum, negandum non ſit potuiſſe transferri.*

Page 61. * *That the world was as well peopled in the time of Noah*, &c.] This has been demonſtrated by arithmeticians, who have entered into political calculations of the numbers of mankind, and was a plain conſequence of the longevity of the antediluvians. See *Vulgar Errors, l.* 6. *c.* 6.

Page 62. * *That Methuſalem was the longeſt lived*, &c.] See this matter cleared up

by the Doctor in his *Vulgar Errors*, *l.* 7. *c.* 3.

Page 62. † *That Judas periſhed by hanging himſelf*, &c.] The words of St. Matthew are, xxvii. 5. *And he went and hanged himſelf*, tho' the original word, ἀπήγξατο, ſignifies *ſuffocation* as well as *hanging*. The words in the Acts are, *And falling headlong, he burſt aſunder in the midſt.*

Page 64. * *Ptolemy, who thought not his library compleat without it.*] This was Ptolemy Philadelphus, who founded the library of Alexandria, and, by the aſſiſtance of Demetrius Phalerius the rhetorician, furniſhed it with all the valuable books which could be collected from all corners of the world. He had heard the fame of the laws of the Jews, (who had been led into captivity by his predeceſſor Ptolemeus Lagi, from which he had releaſed them) and thinking it worthy a place in his library, he deſired and procured a copy of it from Eleazar, the high prieſt; which he appointed ſeventy two interpreters, ſkilled in the Hebrew and Greek tongues, to turn into Greek. To this a fabulous legend is added, that theſe interpreters, being ſhut up into ſeveral ſeparate cells, to finiſh their work, their ſeveral Tranſlations came out to agree in every word. *Credat Judæus appella.*

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Page 64. † *The alcoran of the Turks*, &c.] Of this as a ſample take the following obſervations from Lipſius, *monit. & exemp. politic. cap.* 3. *O nugas, O deliria! primum* (ſaith he) *commentus eſt, Deum unum ſolidumque* (ὀλόσφυρον *Græci exprimunt*) *eundemque incorporeum eſſe. Chriſtum non Deum, ſed magnum vatem & prophetam; ſe tamen majorem, & proxime a Deo miſſum; præmia qui ipſum audient paradiſum, qui poſt aliquot annorum millia reſerabitur, ibi quatuor flumina lacte, vino, melle, aqua fluere; ibi palatia & ædificia gemmata atque aurata eſſe, carnes avium ſaviſſimarum, fructus omne genus quos ſparſi, jacenteſque ſub umbra arborum edent: ſed caput felicitatis, viros fœminaſque majores ſolito, magnis gentialibus, aſſidua libidine & ejus uſu ſine tædio aut fatigatione.* Theſe and ſome others that are in the Alcoran he reckons up. *Sed & phyſica quoque miranda* (ſaith he) *nam facit Solem & Lunam in equis vehi, illum autem in aquam calidam veſpere mergi, & bene lotum aſcendere atque oriri; Stellas in aere e catenis aureis pendere: Terram in bovini cornu cuſpide ſtabilitam, & agitante ſe bove ac ſuccutiente fieri terræ motum; hominem autem ex hirudine aut ſanguiſuga naſci,* &c. Juſt. Lipſ. *monit. & exempl. politic. cap.* 3.

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Page 65. * *I believe, beſides Zoroaſter,* &c.] Zoroaſter was an Indian philoſopher, and reputed of very great antiquity, and to have lived no leſs than 5000 years before the Trojan war. The Chaldean and Ægyptian books are held to have been very ancient, and to have carried up their hiſtory, and aſtronomic calculations into an incredible length of time; ſome of them are held to have been conſiderably older than Moſes. The pretenſions of the Chineſe in this reſpect go very far back. But it is generally allowed, that the books of Moſes are older than any of the Grecian Writers, or than any book extant at this day.

Page 66. * *The combuſtion of the library of Alexandria.*] This is the library mentioned in the former ſection, founded by Ptolemy Philadelphus, and is ſaid to have contained 700,000 volumes. It was burnt at the ſiege of Alexandria by Julius Cæſar; but afterwards repaired and augmented by the Emperors Claudian and Domitian.

Ibid. † *Enoch's pillars.*] As to theſe, the ſtory goes, that Enoch, or his father Seth, having been informed by Adam, that the world was to periſh once by water, and a ſecond time by fire, did cauſe two pillars to be erected, the one of ſtone againſt the water, and another of brick againſt the fire; and that

that upon thoſe pillars was engraven all ſuch learning as had been delivered to, or invented by mankind; and that thence it came, that all knowledge and learning was not loſt by means of the flood, by reaſon that one of the pillars, tho' the other periſhed, did remain after the flood, and Joſephus witneſſeth it did ſo till his time, *lib.* 1. *Antiq. judaic. cap.* 3.

P. 60. ‡ *Of theſe three great inventions in Germany*, &c.] Theſe are the art of printing, gun-powder, and the third is ſuppoſed to be the invention of clocks, which is alſo aſcribed to a German. It is remarkable, that the two firſt were very oppoſite to the profeſſions of their inventors, gun-powder being the diſcovery of a monk, and printing of a ſoldier: Both theſe were found out and practiſed by the Chineſe about 1500 years before they were known in Europe.

Page 70. * *Glory in the number and valour of martyrs.*] Minutius Fœlix makes his Heathen ſay of the courage of the Chriſtians in this particular, *Permira ſtultitia & incredibili audacia ſpernunt tormenta preſentia, dum incerta metuunt & futura; & dum mori poſt mortem timent, interim mori non timent.* And afterwards, ſpeaking in the perſon of the Chriſtian, he ſaith, that Chriſtian women and children have in this ſurpaſſed

Scævola

Scævola and Regulus; *Cum Mutio vel cum Atilio Regulo comparo: pueri & mulierculæ noſtræ cruces & tormenta, feras & omnes ſupplicíorum terriculas inſpirata patientia doloris illudunt.* Minut. in octav. lib. 3. Vide Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. 1. cap. 23. 24.

P. 70. † *If we ſhall ſtrictly examine*, &c.] Ariſtotle, *lib. 3. c. 6. Eth. ad Nicom.* among other requiſites to true valour, requires, that it keep a mediocrity betwixt audacity and fear; that we thruſt not ourſelves into danger when we need not; that we ſpare not to ſhow our valour when occaſion requires. The proper object of it, he ſays, is death; and to all deaths he prefers death in defence of our country; becauſe thereby a man profits his country and friends; this he calls *mors honeſta*, an honourable death; and this death has been conſtantly celebrated by all the ſages and poets of antiquity. Horace ſays,

Dulce & decorum eſt pro patria mori.

And extolls Codrus on that account,

Codrus pro patria non timidus mori.

In like manner Virgil places ſuch heroes among his choice company in the Elyſian fields.

Hic manus, ob patriam pugnando vulnera paſſi.

And Cicero in his offices. l. 1. *ſed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa eſt, pro qua*

qua quis bonus dubitet mortem oppetere? If we try the valour of Alexander by the teſt of Ariſtotle, we ſhall ſcarce find any one of his requiſites go to make up his character, the want of fear only excepted. His behaviour at the ſiege of Tyre may alone ſerve to evince this, though the whole hiſtory of his life is a confirmation of it. Montaigne ſays of him, *Cettuy-cy ſemble rechercher & courir a force les dangers, comme un impetueux torrent, qui choque & attacque ſans diſcretion, & ſans choix, tout ce qu' il recontre des eſſ. l. 2 c. 34.* His unneceſſary, extravagant, and unjuſt expeditions ſhow his character to be devoid both of the *decorum* and *honeſtum.* Of theſe Seneca, *Epiſt.* 94. *Agebat infelicem Alexandrum furor aliena devaſtandi, & ad ignota mittebat. An tu putas ſanum, qui quod cuique optimum eſt eripuit? Lacedemona ſervire jubet, Athenas tacere, &c. Hic tamen vult ultra oceanum ſolemque; indignatur ab Herculis Liberique veſtigiis victoriam flectere: ipſi naturæ vim parat.* And the character which the Scythian ambaſſadors gave of him to himſelf ſeems very juſt; *Si Dii habitum corporis tui aviditati animi parem eſſe voluiſſent, orbis te non caperet, altera manu orientem, altera occidentem contingeres.* Curt. *lib.* 7. The character of Cæſar is much of a piece, tho' his atchievements are not ſo generally of he ſame deſperate

deſperate kind as Alexander's, yet many of them were equally daring, and juſtly deſerved the imputation of fool-hardineſs; ſuch as, his conqueſt of Egypt with an inconſiderable ſtrength, and, immediately after, his attacking the forces of Scipio and Juba, which were ten times his number; his braving Lucius Caſſius, attended with ten men of war, himſelf in a ſingle ſhip, after the battle of Pharſalia: and laſtly, his obſtinate perſeverance in the ſiege of Alexandria, tho' defended by a ſtrong army within, and an incredible force faſt marching to its aſſiſtance. Theſe inſtances ſufficiently ſupport Lucan's character of him,

Acer & indomitus, quo ſpes, quoque ira vocaſſet
Ferre manum, &c.

Neither were his deſigns a whit more honourable. He underwent the greateſt fatigues, run the greateſt riſks, and attempted the moſt hazardous enterprizes, only to gratify an inſatiable ambition, the end of all which was enſlaving his native country, and entailing that ſlavery upon it for ever. *Quid C. Cæſarem in ſua fata, pariter ac publica, immiſit? Gloria & ambitio, & nullus ſupra cæteros eminendi modus.* Seneca *in Epiſt.* 94. And thereby he plainly failed in the laſt requiſite of true valour mentioned by Ariſtotle.

Were

Were a general ſurvey made of all the heroes mentioned either in ancient or modern hiſtory, there would be found no reaſon to vary the judgment made of them by Mr. Pope.

Heroes are much the ſame, the point's agreed,
From Macedonia's madman to the Swede;
The whole ſtrange purpoſe of their lives to find,
Or make an enemy of all mankind.[1]

Eſſay on man, Ep. 4. *v.* 219.

Page 72. * *John Huſs.*] The religious tenets of John Huſs did not differ much from thoſe of the Papiſts in the moſt important articles, ſuch as, the invocation of ſaints, prayers and ſacrifice for the dead, free will, good works, confeſſion of ſins, ſeven ſacraments. But one article he maintained to the laſt, which is ſufficient to remove him from the number of martyrs for the cauſe of pure religion, and ſtates his death as a juſt ſacrifice to the publick ſafety; that is, *Quod nullus eſt dominus civilis, dum eſt in peccato mortali;* a tenet ſubverſive of all order and government.

Ib. † *Are not ſo perfect martyrs as that wiſe heathen Socrates,* &c.] Many of the ancient fathers ſcrupled not to reckon Socrates a martyr approved of God. And his prin-

ciples and practice may put the beſt Chriſtians at this day to the bluſh.

Page 72. ‡ *The biſhop who ſuffered*, &c.] This was Virgil, Biſhop of Saltzburg in the ſeventh century, who, becauſe he aſſerted there were Antipodes, was accuſed of maintaining that there was another world, other men below us, another ſun and another moon. Boniface Archbiſhop of Mentz treated theſe opinions as impious, and cenſured Virgil publickly. Virgil complained to Utilo Duke of Bavaria, whom he exaſperated againſt Boniface; upon this Boniface wrote to the Pope in terms which rendered Virgil's faith ſuſpected. The Pope ſent deputies to Utilo, and wrote him that his intention was, that, if Virgil was a prieſt, he ſhould be degraded from his prieſthood, and ſent to Rome to give an account of his behaviour: And this is all that we know of the affair, as we do not find the ſequel of it in the annals; only it does not appear that the Pope's threats were put in execution, as the Doctor ſuppoſes. *Vid. Aventinus annal. Boiorum, lib.* 3.

Page 75. * *I hold that God can do all things*, &c.] *Il m'a tousjours ſemblé qu'a un homme Chreſtien, cette ſorte de parler eſt plein d'indiſcretion & d'irreverence*, Dieu ne ſe peut deldire, Dieu ne peut faire cecy ou cela;

je

je ne trouve pas bon d'enfermer ainſi la puiſſance divine ſous les loix de noſtre parole. Et l'apparence qui s'offre a nous en ces propoſitions, il la faudroit repreſenter plus reverement, & religieuſement.

Montaigne, lib. 2. c. 12. des Eſſ.

Page 76. * *And this hath ever made me ſuſpect the efficacy of relicks*, &c.] The Papiſts, from the inſtances recorded in ſcripture, of Paul's napkins curing the ſick, and ejecting devils, *Acts* xix. 12. of Eliſha's bones enlivening the dead, 2 *Kings* xiii. 21. of the hem of Chriſt's garment ſtopping the bloody iſſue, *Mat.* xix. 22. and others of that kind, have inferred, that the ſame efficacy muſt always remain with them, and have recorded many miracles pretended to be wrought by ſuch relicks, or pretended relicks; for the profits ariſing from a blind devotion, warmed by the artifices of the prieſts, were too alluring not to put the inventions of the holy brotherhood to the ſtretch, in order to continue or encreaſe them; by which means they have brought an immenſe treaſure into their ſpiritual coffers. Hence the ſtore of relicks have been prodigiouſly encreaſed, and what is as wonderful as the miracles wrought by them, the ſelf-ſame relicks are multiplied and preſerved in different churches, all equally adored, and the honour

nour of them zealouſly vindicated by their ſeveral partizans. The body of St. Luke is preſerved both at Venice and Padua, and his head at Rome. The body preſerved at Padua wants the head; that at Venice has it. *O lepidum caput!* The teeth, the hair, and the very pairings of the nails of ſaints have had divine honours paid them.

Page 77. * *I excuſe not Conſtantine*, &c.] For the hiſtory of the croſs found by the Empreſs Helene, and the nails wore by Conſtantine, and others of the like ſort. *Vide Nicephori Hiſt. Eccl. lib.* 8. *c.* 29.

Ibid. † *Conſecrated ſwords and roſes*, &c.] Such complements were frequent by the Popes to Kings and Emperors, or others their favourites; and ſuch was the ſword ſent by Pope Leo X. to Henry VIII. with the title of *defender of the faith*, ſtill preſerved in the tower of London. Whole treatiſes have been wrote of the power and efficacy of conſecrated roſes.

Page 78. * *The ceſſation of oracles*, &c.] The Doctor ſeems here to have forgot the great diſrepute the oracles had fallen into, before the period here meant by him, the birth of Chriſt. Cicero ſays, *Non ſolum ſua ætate, ſed jamdiu ante, oraculo Delphico nil ſuiſſe contemptius*, and the cauſe he aſſigns for

for it is, *Quod homines jam tunc fuerint minus creduli*, lib. 2. *de divin.* The age was then become more enlightened, and of courſe ſhaking off the fetters of prieſtcraft, to which, abetted by the policy of the magiſtrate, oracles might fairly be aſcribed. Some ſuperſtitious heads, as Plutarch and others, have been at conſiderable pains to account for oracles, and for their total ceſſation; but their hypotheſes are ridiculous, and have met with a juſt contempt from Lucian, Cicero, *&c.* Moſt of the oracles upon record are either capable of a double meaning, which the ſanguine enquirer would naturally interpret in his own favours; if the event anſwered, the God was revered; if otherwiſe, the prieſt had a back door to ſave the honour of the Deity: or were mere ſtate-tricks concerted betwixt the prieſt and the magiſtrate, whoſe humble ſervant it was his intereſt to be; and of this the Delphic oracle was accuſed by Demoſthenes, who uſed to ſay the Pythian oracle philippized, actuated, no doubt, by ſome other ſecret influence than that of the God. About the time of the birth of our Saviour, their tricks were become ſo notorious, that their credit was quite ſunk, and the trade not worth following. And on this account many have doubted of the oracle ptetended to be made to Auguſtus, when he ſent to enquire

enquire the meaning of the eclipſe and earthquake, which happened at our Saviour's birth.

Me puer Hebræus divos Deus ipſe gubernans,
Cedere ſede jubet, triſtemque redire ſub orcum.
Aris ergo dehinc tacitus diſcedito noſtris.

Page 79. * *Megaſthenes or Herodotus.*] The Doctor ſeems to find fault with ſupporting the truth of the ſcripture-hiſtory by the concurrence of Heathen evidence; very unjuſtly, if we conſider the great light thrown upon the ſcripture; and many doubts that have been cleared by Prideaux and Shuckford, in their connexions of the ſacred and profane hiſtories. Indeed the authors pitched on by the Doctor are very proper for his end, the work aſcribed to Megaſthenes being ſuppoſititious, and the manufacture of Anio of Viterbi, famous for ſuch frauds; and Herodotus ſtigmatized as the moſt fabulous writer of antiquity, uſually ſtyled *the father of fable.*

Ibid. † *A paſſage of Juſtin,* &c.] His words are, *Sed cum ſcabiem Ægyptii & pruriginem paterentur, reſponſo moniti, eum* (*ſc. Moyſen*) *cum ægris, ne peſtis ad plures ſerperet, terminis Ægypti pellunt,* lib. 36. But he is not ſingular in this; for Tacitus tells us

us, *hiſt. lib. 5. Plurimi authores conſentiunt orta per Ægyptum tabe quæ corpora fœdaret, regem* (*Ochirum*) (he means Pharoah) *adito Hammonis oraculo remedium petentem purgare regnum & id genus hominum-------alias in terras avertere juſſum.* Et paulo inferius, *Quod ipſos ſcabies quondam turpaverat.*

Page 80. * *And do now know there are witches*, &c.] This is one of our author's ſingular opinions; for which he would be ridiculed in this enlightened age, when our whole legiſlature, convinced of the folly of that belief, have repealed that ridiculous law of King James I. inflicting death upon witches and wizards; the many executions, or murders rather, that happened in conſequence of it, upon the moſt ſlender preſumptions, or rather brain-ſick imaginations, of an ignorant and ſuperſtitious rabble, being ſufficient to ſhock humanity itſelf. It had been more for his honour, to have reſolved all ſuppoſed witchcraft into philoſophical magick, as he does in the next ſection.

Page 84. * *It was the opinion of Plato*, &c.] Vide *Plato, in Timeo & Parmenide.* This opinion was embraced by a great many of the ancient philoſophers, particularly the Platoniſts; and Virgil, according to that philoſophy,

loſophy, gives the following deſcription of the *anima mundi*.

Principio cælum & terras campoſque liquentes,
Lucentemque globum lunæ, titaniaque aſtra,
Spiritus intus alit; totamque infuſa per artus
Mens agitat molem, & magno ſe corpore miſcet. Æneid. lib. 6. v. 724.

Among the later philoſophers it was known by the name of the *plaſtic nature*.

Page 87. * *For there is in this univerſe a ſtair, or manifeſt ſcale of creatures*, &c.] This is a very ancient opinion, and reſpectful of the power and goodneſs of the Deity. The reader will find it beautifully deſcribed by Mr. Pope, in his *Eſſay on Man*, *Ep.* 1. *from lin.* 200. *to lin.* 238.

Far as creation's ample range extends,
The ſcale of *ſenſual*, *mental* pow'rs aſcends:
Mark how it mounts, to man's imperial race,
From the green myriads in the peopl'd graſs. *&c.*

Page 90. * *That great father*, &c.] That is St. Chryſoſtom or St. Auguſtine; for they both mention this opinion of the light there ſpoke of being underſtood of the angels.

To

To this interpretation they were probably led, by obſerving, that light ſubſiſting alone was held a ſpiritual ſubſtance; to which opinion the Doctor aſſents, and Epicurus held it many ages before him.

Page 95. * *All is ſolved with the new term of creation*, &c.] Ariſtotle having embraced certain propoſitions, which he held for axioms, and reaſoned upon them as ſuch, fell into many errors; among others this, *Quod ex nihilo, nihil fit;* in conſequence whereof, treating of the formation of the world, he ſuppoſed an eternal or pre-exiſtent matter, and the *proceſſus* only, or alterations made on it fell properly under his term of generation. Take from Plato, that the world had a beginning, and from Ariſtotle, that it was not generated, and you have the true Chriſtian opinion.

Page 97. * *Concering its production*, &c.] That is, whether the ſoul be produced *ex traduce*, by traduction from the parents, or by infuſion from God.

Page 99. * *Reduced the very Heathens to divinity*, &c.] So it did Galen, who conſidering the order, uſe, and diſpoſition of the parts of the body, broke forth into theſe words: *Compono hic profecto canticum in*

creatoris noſtri laudem, quod ultra res ſuas ornare voluit melius quam ulla arte poſſent. Galen. l. 3. de uſu partium.

Page 101. * *I cannot believe the wiſdom of Pythagoras,* &c.] Grotius believed that Pythagoras held his metempſychoſis literally, and accounts for it from the notions which many Philoſophers had of the future ſtate, *Quæ non magis de homine quam de beſtiis procedunt;* and therefore ſaith he, *Mirandum non eſt, ſi tranſitum animarum de hominibus in beſtias, de beſtiis in homines alii commenti ſunt,* lib. 2. de verit. relig. chriſt. Lucretius fully refutes Pythagoras's doctrine, in theſe verſes;

Præterea, ſi immortalis natura animai
Conſtat & in corpus naſcentibus inſinuatur:
Cur ſuper anteactam ætatem meminiſſe nequimus?
Nec veſtigia geſtarum rerum ulla tenemus?
Nam ſi tantoper eſt animi mutata poteſtas,
Omnis ut actarum exciderit retinentia rerum:
Non, ut opinor, id ab letho jam longiter errat.

This abſurdity is ſo evident, that the friends of Pythagoras, to ſalve his honour, have alledged he meant it metaphorically, to repreſent the immortality of the ſoul, which he, and the other Philoſophers who had no notion of creation, could not well conceive, without

without alſo ſuppoſing a pre-exiſtence. So Lactantius, *Non putaverunt aliter fieri poſſe ut ſuperſint animæ poſt corpora, niſi videntur fuiſſe ante corpora*, de falſ. ſap. c. 18.

Page 103. * *I am become ſtupid*, &c.] Machiavel is of opinion, that the frequent ſhows of Gladiators, and of combating wild beaſts in the theatres, contributed much to increaſe the ferocity of the Romans, and to endue them with a contempt for death.

Ibid. † *Much leſs a well reſolved Chriſtian.*] Innumerable are the inſtances of the contempt of death among the ancients. The behaviour of Socrates at his death was truly heroic. Demoſthenes, when King Philip threatened him with death, made anſwer, that if he ſhould kill him, yet his country would compliment him with immortality. Theodorus, the Cyrenæan Philoſopher, returned ſuch another bold anſwer to King Lyſimachus, who threatened him with the croſs; Keep theſe frightful threatenings, ſays he, to terrify your delicate courtiers; but it makes no odds to Theodorus, whether he rot in the ground, or in the air. This contempt of death went ſo far, that many of them procured it to themſelves; ſome to ſave their country, as Codrus and Decius; ſome not to ſurvive its fall, as Cato; ſome to free themſelves from pain,

pain, as Atticus, Corellius, Rufus, whoſe death is told by Pliny, *lib.* 1. *Ep.* 12. and Silius Italicus the poet. And others again for ſome trifling cauſe, as Seneca in his 4th Epiſtle ſays, *Non vides quam ex frivolis cauſis mors contemnatur; alius ante amicæ fores laqueo pependit; alius ſe præcipitavit e tecto, ne dominum ſtomachantem diutius audiret; alius ne reduceretur e fuga ferrum adegit in viſcera.* Now if the Heathens, guided by the mere light of nature and philoſophy, without the knowledge of a future retribution, could go ſo far as to reckon death no evil, and could part with life often upon the ſmalleſt conſiderations, ought not Chriſtians much more to contemn death, ſeeing they are taught it is but an entrance into a glorious immortality, *into an inheritance in another life, which is incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away*; and in which an incorruptible crown is prepared for them?

Page 104. * *The moſt miſerable perſon extant.*] This concluſion naturally follows from a view of the miſeries and vanity of this life, and was one of the ſtrongeſt arguments among the Heathens for a future ſtate. They conſidered life only as the porch, or *proſcenium* to a happier ſtate, which was to follow after death, when the faculties

faculties of our minds ſhould be enlarged, our knowledge increaſed, the uncertainties and doubts which attend us here removed, and men rendered capable to enjoy the life of the gods.

Hope humbly then, with trembling pinions ſoar;
Wait the great teacher, death, and God adore! *Eſſay on Man, Ep.* 1. *v.* 91.

Page 106. * *Many creatures that behold the ſun.*] The life of inſects is of a very ſhort duration. Ælian mentions one, which he calls the Ephemeris, becauſe it is begot, born, and dies within the circle of a day.

Page 107. * *Theſe ſtrange and myſtical tranſmigrations*, &c.] See *ſpectacle de la nature*, vol. 1. where the transformations of ſilk-worms, and many other inſects, are deſcribed with very great elegance and propriety.

Page 110. * *The neateſt way unto corruption.*] The author here alludes to the funeral rites of the ancients, which in different nations were different; but all of them very ſumptuous and elegant. Among the Romans they burnt the dead bodies, and gathered the aſhes into urns, which were ſometimes of gold and ſilver. Virgil deſcribes

ſcribes the ceremony of a funeral-pile in his Æneid, *lib.* 6. *v.* 213.

Page 110. † *Of crows and daws.*] They are ſuppoſed to be very long-lived creatures. Heſiod, ſpeaking of the age of man, aſcribes to the daws the length of nine human lives, to deers four times as much, and to crows three times as much. Hence Theophraſtus is ſaid, when dying, to have accuſed nature for giving to theſe creatures, to whom it was of ſo little concern, ſo long a life, and ſo ſhort an one to man whom it much concerned. *Cic. Tuſc. quæſt. lib.* 3. To ſuch complaints Seneca affords a noble anſwer; *Citius mori*, ſays he, *vel tardius ad rem non pertinet: bene autem mori aut male, ad rem pertinet.* Ep. 70.

Page 114. * *Æſon's bath.*] Æſon was the father of Jaſon, and, at his deſire, was by Medea reſtored to youth from a very great old age, by means of a bath prepared by her. Medea's preparation, and the progreſs of this wonderful change, is deſcribed by Ovid in his metam. *lib.* 7.

Page 118. * *To deprive us of death.*] This is a thought of Seneca the tragedian,

Ubique mors eſt, optime hoc cavit Deus;
Eripere vitam nemo non homini poteſt;
At nemo mortem; mille ad hanc aditus patent. Thebaid. act. 1.

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Page 120. * *Of Rhadamanthus*, &c.] The expectation of a future judgment was very frequent among the ancients. It was described indeed with all the trumpery of fiction, in order to engross the attention of the herd of mankind. They had the accusers, the judges, and the executioners of mankind, all placed in their infernal regions. Virgil describes Rhadamanthus's business as judge in the following verses;

Gnossius hæc Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna:
Castigatque auditque dolos, subigitque fateri,
Quæ quis apud superos, furto lætatus inani,
Distulit in seram commissa piacula mortem.
Æneid. lib. 6. v. 566.

Page 121. * *The world's destruction by fire*, &c.] This was a tenet common to many of the Philosophers, but particularly to the Stoics, and was of a very old standing, as Ovid observes.

Esse quoque in fatis reminiscitur adfore tempus,
Quo mare, quo tellus, correptaque regia cæli
Ardeat; & mundi moles operosa laboret.
Metam. lib. 1. v. 156.

Lucan was of Stoic principles, and drew his information from that philosophy.

Page

Page 123. * *Elias's 6000 Years.*] Elias was a Jewish Rabbi; but he was not singular in this opinion. Lactantius prescribes just the same term; his reason for it is somewhat whimsical, *Quoniam sex diebus cuncta Dei opera perfecta sunt, per sæcula sex, id est, annorum sex millia manere in hoc statu mundum necesse est.* De divino præmio, c. 14. We have not wanted modern philosophers, even in this age, who have been so rash as to prescribe a period to the duration of the world.

Page 126. * *Is but a cold principle.*] This question, whether virtue be its own reward, has been much agitated of late years, and with great strength of argument on both sides. It was a principle of the Stoics, for which see *Cic. l.* 1. *& l.* 5. *Tusc. quæst.* And Seneca warmly maintained it in his book *de vita beata.*

Ibid. † *The honest artifice of Seneca,* &c.] *Aliquis vir bonus nobis eligendus est, & semper ante oculos habendus; ut sic tanquam illo spectante vivamus, & omnia tanquam illo vidente faciamus.* And afterwards, *Elige itaque Catonem; si hic videtur tibi nimis rigidus, elige remissioris animi virum Lælium,* &c. Seneca, l. 1. Ep. 11.

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Page 126. ‡ *That great reſolution of his*, &c.] Seneca's words are, *Si, ſcirem Deos peccata ignoſcituros & homines ignoraturos, adhuc, propter vilitatem peccati, peccare erubeſcerem.*

Page 129. * *Shall command them back into their proper ſhapes*, &c.] The heathens raiſed ſundry objections to the reſurrection of the ſame body, which the fathers were at much pains to anſwer. The Doctor gives them a general anſwer, that it is the object of faith, not of reaſon or philoſophy [a]. Take the following example of the argutations of the fathers on this head, from Cyrillus. He introduces the Heathen objecting, that *interiit homo, & mortuus computruit, & totus in vermes reſolutus eſt; atque ii vermes quoque interierunt, putrefactio tanta & corruptio corpus excepit; quomodo itaque reſurget? Navigatores a piſcibus devorati ſunt & ipſi quoque piſces comeſti ſunt; eos qui cum beſtiis pugnarunt, urſi & leones una cum oſſibus comminuerunt*, &c. To which Cyrillus anſwers, *Cogita diverſa germinum ſemina miſceri & tuo pugillo contineri: eſtne tibi homini facilis an magna res pugillum aperire, unumquodque ſemen ad ſuam ſpeciem congregare, & ad germen reſtaurare?*

[a] Vide Grot. de ver. relig. chr. lib. 2.

rare? Et tu quidem in tuo pugillo poteris; Deus vero quæ ſuo pugillo continentur diſcernere, congregare & reſtaurare non poterit? Minutius Fælix in Octavio, has the following argument; *Cæterum quis tam ſtultus eſt aut brutus, ut audeat repugnare, hominem a Deo, ut primum potuit fingi, ita poſſe denuo reformari; nihil eſſe poſt obitum, & ante ortum nihil fuiſſe? Sicut de nihilo naſci licuit, ita de nihilo licere reparari? Porro difficilius eſt id quod ſit incipere, quam id quod fuerat iterare. Tu perire Deo credis, ſi quid noſtris oculis hebetibus ſubtrahitur? Corpus omne ſive areſcit in pulverem, ſive in humorem ſolvitur, vel in nidorem tenuatur, ſubtrahitur nobis; ſed Deo elementorum cuſtodi reſervatur.*

Page 130. * *This is made good by experience*, &c.] The inſtance here given of the reſuſcitation of plants by chimical preparations, is maintained by Kircher, and affirmed to have been done by himſelf; and a late writer, the Abbe Vallemont alſo poſitively affirmed it, and deſcribes the progreſs by which it is performed.

Page 139. * *There are as many hells as Anaxagoras conceited worlds.*] Anaxarchus rather; for Anaxagoras held but one world. Democritus and the Epicureans held a multiplicity of worlds.

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Page 141. * *That terrible term*, &c.] The Heathen poet Horace ſays,

Oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore;
Tu nihil admittes in te formidine pœnæ.
Lib. 1. Ep. 16.

Page 144. * *It is hard to place theſe ſouls in hell*, &c.] The declaration in ſcripture, that there is ſalvation in no other than Chriſt, and by his name only men can be ſaved, puzzles the doctor what fate to pronounce upon thoſe good Heathens, whoſe virtues and perfect morality, and even the ſpeculative notions of ſome of them concerning God, in his opinion deſerved a better lot than eternal damnation; and that, as he argues, for no fault of theirs, but for being ignorant of truths which they had no opportunity of knowing. This has led many good men, in all the Chriſtian ages, to determine more favourably concerning them; as our author does of Socrates, *p.* 72. and Juſtin Martyr, Eraſmus and others do of many of the Heathen worthies. Yet the doctor, in the remaining part of this ſection, proves himſelf a good Chriſtian, and ſeems to go plum into the orthodox opinion of the damnation of all unbelievers.

Page 147. * *Ariſtotle tranſgreſſed the rule of his own ethicks*, &c.] Lactantius has collected

lected many inſtances of the oppoſition betwixt the lives and doctrines of the Philoſoghers. Ariſtotle in particular is accuſed of vanity in his dreſs, incontinency, and treachery towards his maſter Alexander. Seneca, than whom no man moralizes better, and who has, at great length, delivered to us the virtuous doctrines of the Stoics, is pointed out as a flagrant inſtance of this inconſiſtency; avarice, luxury, adultery, treachery, puſillanimity, make up but a ſmall part of his character.

P. 147. † *The Scepticks*, &c.] Their principle is expreſſed in the following verſes;

----Nihil ſcire ſi quis putat, id quoque neſcit-
An ſcire poſſit, quod ſe nil ſcire fatetur.

The inconſiſtency of which appears at firſt ſight. *Vide Aul. Gell. lib.* 11. *c.* 5.

Ibid. * *The duke of Venice*, &c.] The doge and ſenate of Venice, yearly on aſcenſion-day, go out in a barge to the Adriatic, and there, with great ſolemnity, by throwing a ring into the ſea, do wed it as their ſpouſe, in commemoration of the dominion of the ſea given them by Pope Alexander III. which, by this pageantry, they are incited to maintain and defend as they would their own ſpouſes.

Page

Page 148. † *But the Philoſopher who threw his money into the ſea*, &c.] This was Apollonius Tyanæus, who threw a great quantity of gold into the ſea, with theſe words; *Peſſundo diivtias, ne peſſundarem ab illis.* Polycrates the tyrant of Samos caſt the moſt valuable jewel he had into the ſea, that he might thereby learn to bear adverſe fortune, which he had never felt.

Page 149. * *That wiſe man Chiron*, &c.] The fable is, that while Saturn was embracing his miſtreſs Phillyra, Ops his wife came upon them; and he, to avoid diſcovery, transformed himſelf into a horſe: from this embrace Chiron was begot, who was half man, half horſe, and became famous for his wiſdom and ſkill in phyſick. This fable, as explained by the doctor, has an excellent meaning.

Page 164. * *Certain characters*, &c. The outward features and lineaments have always been held as almoſt infallible indications of the inward temperament and diſpoſition of the ſoul. But it requires long experience, great ſagacity and diſcretion, to draw juſt concluſions in this matter. The riſk of making raſh judgments therein is very great, and the injuſtice we do a ſtranger often irreparable; becauſe the prejudice

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Page 149. * *That wiſe man Chiron*, &c.] The fable is, that while Saturn was embracing his miſtreſs Phillyra, Ops his wife came upon them; and he, to avoid diſcovery, transformed himſelf into a horſe: from this embrace Chiron was begot, who was half man, half horſe, and became famous for his wiſdom and ſkill in phyſick. This fable, as explained by the doctor, has an excellent meaning.

Page 164. * *Certain characters*, &c. The outward features and lineaments have always been held as almoſt infallible indications of the inward temperament and diſpoſition of the ſoul. But it requires long experience, great ſagacity and diſcretion, to draw juſt concluſions in this matter. The riſk of making raſh judgments therein is very great, and the injuſtice we do a ſtranger often irreparable; becauſe the prejudice

dice for or againſt ariſes at firſt view, and if not diſcouraged, and the judgment for ſome time ſuſpended, takes ſuch firm hold as not to be eaſily eradicated. There is the greater reaſon for this caution, as many a man gives the lie to his face; when either a man, inſtead of being angry, and exaſperated at his own looks, or envying thoſe of others, applies himſelf aſſiduouſly to the culture of his mind, and procuring beauties more laſting or ornamental; or when one, inſtead of improving the mind, and making it a proper inhabitant for a beautiful frame beſtowed by nature, gives the looſe to his paſſions, and thereby diſgraces the outward beauty of his body; in either of theſe caſes phyſiognomy is fallacious: of the firſt of theſe Socrates was a remarkable inſtance; *vide Spect.* No. 86. Of the ſecond Alcibiades, the favourite diſciple of Socrates, was a no leſs remarkable inſtance: for tho' bleſſed by nature with the moſt beautiful figure, and the beſt capacity, he was yet given up to the moſt irregular courſes, notwithſtanding the aſſiſtance of his friend Socrates. Martial's epigram on this ſubject is worth tranſcribing.

Crine ruber, niger ore, brevis pede, lumine læſus,
Rem magnam præſtas, Zoile, ſi bonus es.

Thy

Thy head and beard are of a diff'rent dye;
Short of one foot, diſtorted in an eye:
With all theſe tokens of a knave complete,
Should'ſt thou be honeſt, thou'rt a dev'liſh cheat.

No branch of natural knowledge has been more abuſed than this of phyſiognomy: it was taken up, and profeſſed as a ſcience along with aſtrology, by ignorant pretenders, in the firſt ages of the revival of learning, to make a ſhew of ſuperior knowledge, and cauſe the rabble ſtare. But both are now happily exploded.

A very ingenious author on this ſubject, *Baptiſta Porta*, founds his ſpeculations on the ſuppoſition, that as a man hath in the mould of his face a remote likeneſs to that of an ox, a ſheep, a lion, an hog, or any other creature; he hath the ſame reſemblance in the frame of his mind, and is ſubject to thoſe paſſions which are predominant in the creature that appears in his countenance. Accordingly he gives the prints of ſeveral faces, that are of a different mould, and, by a little overcharging the likeneſs, diſcovers the figures of theſe ſeveral kinds of brutal faces in human features.

Page 166. * *How there ſhould be any*, &c.] The inſtances are indeed few, but ſome there are very remarkable, recorded by antiquity,

tiquity, as that betwixt King Antiochus and one Antemon a plebeian of Syria, who were ſo like that Laodice the King's widow, by pretending this man was the King, concealed his death, till ſhe had ſettled a ſucceſſor according to her mind; betwixt Cn. Pompey and Vibius the orator; betwixt C. Plancus and Rubrius the Stage-player; Caſſius Severus the orator, and one Mirmello; and that betwixt M. Meſſala Cenſorius, and one Menogenes. *Vide Plin. hiſt. nat. lib.* 7. *c.* 11. But the moſt extraordinary inſtance of this ſimilitude of faces is the caſe of Martin Guerre and Arnauld de Tilh, recorded in the Gallick reports: The latter taking advantage of the abſence of the former, and having made himſelf acquainted with the moſt minute circumſtances of his life, thro' a confidence of this ſurpriſing reſemblance, ſo impoſed himſelf not only on the relations of Martin Guerre, but even upon his wife, that he was not ſuſpected for ſeveral years; and when at length, from ſome untoward circumſtances, he fell under ſuſpicion of being an impoſtor, he chearfully ſubmitted to a regular proſecution; in which he behaved with ſuch addreſs, that, of near 150 witneſſes examined on the affair, between 30 and 40 depoſed he was the true Martin Guerre, among whom were four ſiſters of Martins, and two of their

their husbands, and of the remainder of the witneſſes, 60 and upwards declared the reſemblance between the perſons was ſo ſtrong, that it was ſimply impoſſible to affirm with certainty whether the accuſed was the true Martin or not. In ſhort Arnauld de Tilh, for a long time, puzzled the parliament of Tholouſe, even after the true Martin Guerre was returned, and they appeared together face to face.

Page 171. * *What a* Βατραχομυομαχια, &c.] In Lucian's book, *de judicio vocalium*, there is a long pleading before the vowels as judges, by Sigma complaining of the injuries done to it by Tau, which had thruſt it out of many words, and taken poſſeſſion of its place. This has been very happily imitated by the *Spectator*, No. 78. and 80. in the perſons of Who, Which and That.

Page 172. * *But their tongues are ſharper than Actius's razor.*] Actius, the Augur, admoniſhing Tarquinius Priſcus to revere the gods, and their immediate ſervant, the Augur; Tarquin, to ridicule him, aſked him, if what he had conceived was poſſible? to which the Augur anſwering it was, he deſired him to cut a whetſtone with a razor; which the Augur actually performed. *Vide Flor. lib.*

lib. 1. *cap.* 5. and *Liv. lib.* 1. who tell the ſtory differently.

P. 172. † *It is not mere zeal to learning*, &c.] Our author's obſervation has been verified, ſince his time, in the perſon of Louis XIV. who, at a great expence, maintained the moſt eminent poets, panegyriſts and hiſtorians, to ſound forth his praiſes, and hand them down to poſterity; and the effect was anſwerable to the deſign. On the other hand, the pride of the *literati* has not bluſhed to aſcribe a great part of the honour of their heroes to their own pens: *Ignotus eſſet Lucilius, niſi eum epiſtolæ Senecæ illuſtrarent. Laudibus Cæſareis plus Virgilius & Varus, Lucanuſque adjecerunt, quam immenſum illud æ rarium quo urbem & orbem ſpoliavit. Nemo prudentiam Ithaci, aut Pelidæ vires agnoſceret, niſi eas Homerus divino publicaſſet ingenio: unde nihil mihi videtur conſultius, viro ad gloriam properanti, fidelium favore ſcriptorum.* Joan Sarisb. Pol. Horace's ode to Cenſorinus is founded upon this thought, *lib.* 4. *od.* 8. where he expreſly prefers the poet's pen to the heroical deeds themſelves.

Neque ſi chartæ ſileant, quod bene feceris
Mercedem tuleris.

And a few lines after,

Dignum laude virum muſa vetat mori:
Cælo muſa beat.

And

And Politian had the boldneſs to tell his patron, Louis a fortz, *Quod eſt bonorum principum cum viris eruditis tacita quædam naturaliſque ſocietas, ut alteri ab alteris illuſtrentur, ac dum ſibi mutuo ſuffragantur, & gloria principibus, & doctis authoritas concilietur.* lib. 11. Ep. 1.

Page 174. * *It is as bloody a thought*, &c.] Nero's expreſſion here mentioned, as related by Sueton, was, when ſome perſon in his hearing had ſaid, When I am dead, let the earth be ſet on fire, Nero added, Yea whilſt I am alive: This was more cruel than the wiſh of Caligula, that the people of Rome had but one neck, that he might deſtroy them all at one blow.

Page 184. * *The ſtory of the Italian*, &c.] It is reported, that an Italian, having met with one who had highly provoked him, put a poniard to his breaſt, and threatened to kill him, unleſs he would blaſpheme God; which the other complying with to ſave his life, the Italian preſently killed him, to the end, that dying without repentance, he might be damned to eternity. This ſtory of the Italian, if true, is indeed beyond compariſon, and a malice only equal to the devil's. Yet the ſpirit of revenge which prevails ſo much in Italy, and the many moſt dreadful in-

inſtances of it which are related, make it almoſt probable.

Page 187. * *This was the temper*, &c.] This was the ſtatue of Venus Gnidea made by Praxiteles, of which a certain yonng man became ſo enamoured, that Pliny relates, *Ferunt, amore captum, cum delituiſſet noctu, ſimulacro cohæſiſſe, ejuſque cupiditatis eſſe indicem maculum.* Lucian mentions it in his *dial. amor.* Tiberius Nero, in his retirement at Capreæ, defiled himſelf and his court with the moſt unheard of lecheries; of which Sueton, *Seceſſu vero Capreenſi, etiam ſellariam excogitavit ſedem arcanarum libidinum, in quam undique conquiſiti puellarum & exolitorum greges, monſtroſique concubitus repertores, quos ſpintrias appellabat; triplici ſerie connexi invicem inceſtarent ſe coram ipſo, ut aſpectu deficientes libidines excitaret.* And Tacitus, *lib. 6. annal. c. 1.* ſays, *Tunc primum ignota ante vocabula reperta ſunt, ſellariorum & ſpintriarum, ex ſæditate loci ac multiplici patientia.* *Vide* the Doctor's vulgar errors, *cap. ult. l. ult.*

Page 190. * *Topography of their cities*, &c.] This ſeems intended as a rebuke to thoſe conceited people, who, tho' fixed all their lives to one ſpot of earth, pretend a more particular knowledge of the ſituation of diſtant

tant provinces, and the laws and manners of foreign nations, than thoſe who have ſpent moſt of their time in ſtudying the language, the laws and policy of thoſe very countries: Of this herd are the bulk of your ſtory-tellers.

Page 191. * *Seen a prating mariner*, &c.] Here the Doctor gives an inſtance of that arrogant verboſity noticed above, in a pratting ſailor, who, from his little practice in navigation, plumes himſelf in a more thorough knowledge of aſtronomy, than thoſe philoſophical heads who have applied themſelves to the ſtudy of that ſcience; the reſult only of ignorance and pride.

Ibid. line 20. *I cannot think that Homer*, &c.] This ſtory of Homer, as related by Plutarch, is as follows, That Homer having ſailed from Thebes to the iſland Ion, when he landed, ſat down on a rock upon the ſhore, when ſome fiſhermen paſſing by, he aſked them, what they had caught? To which they returned this enigmatical anſwer, That what they had caught they had left behind them; but what they had not caught, they had with them: meaning thereby, that while they were in their boat, and could catch no fiſh, they employed their time in looking for, and killing lice; and ſo all that they had taken they had killed, and left

left behind them; and what they had not taken, they had with them in their cloaths. Homer not being able to explain this riddle, pined away, and died of grief. Pliny, in his elegant letter to his friend Fuscus, wherein he gives him an account of the manner of his hunting, is supposed to allude to this riddle, when he says, *Venor aliquando, sed non sine pugillaribus, ut quamvis nihil ceperim, nonnihil referam*, lib. 9. Ep. 36.

Page 191. line 23. *Or that Aristotle*, &c.] Plutarch refutes those who alledged, that Aristotle either drowned or poisoned himself, for grief that he could not explain the ebbing and flowing of the Euripus. Laertius says, he died of a disease at 63 years of age.

Page 192. * *And Aristotle doth but instruct us as Plato doth him*, &c.] Plato taught that truth was to be preferred to every thing; those therefore act very absurdly, who chuse rather obstinately to adhere to the erroneous opinions of Aristotle and the ancients, than to adopt those which the experience of more modern philosophers has founded on the solid basis of demonstration.

Page 193. line 21. *I was never once married.*] Our author here gives a sly insinuation against marrying at all, from his own ex-

example. But we may refer the reader to the ancient lawgivers, particularly Lycurgus and Plato, who made expreſs laws for the puniſhment of ſuch as did not marry. Cornelius Agrippa's cenſure of celibacy is worth tranſcribing; *Qui uxorem*, inquit, *non habet (etiam ſi ditiſſimus ſit) nihil fere habet quod ſuum eſt: quia nihil habet tutum ab inſidiis, nec habet, cui poſſet relinquere, nec cui confidere. Qui uxorem non habet, caret familia, caret propinquis, & ſine poſteritatis ſpe ſemper deſertus & deſtitutus eſt: furantur illum ſervi, defraudantur ſocii, contemnunt vicini.*

Page 193. † *Who marry twice*,&c.] See 1 *Cor.* vii. 8. The Heathens likewiſe were of this opinion, and reckoned it their glory to abſtain from a ſecond marriage. Hence Dido in Virgil, Æneid. lib. 4.

Ille meos, primus qui me ſibi junxit, amores
Abſtulit; ille habeat ſecum, ſervetque ſepulchro.

And Marcia, Cato's daughter, and Valeria, a noble lady in Rome, are extolled upon this account, that they could not, by any arguments, be induced to a ſecond marriage.

Page 194. * *I could be content that we might procreate like trees*, &c.] A phyſician long before our Doctor, Hippocrates, was of the ſame

[illegible]e mind. *Vide Aul. Gell. lib.* 19. *cap.* 2. Paracelſus, another phyſician, went farther than a wiſh, and undertook to preſcribe a method for the generation of a man without coition. Monſ. Montaigne's words on this ſubject are worth notice; *Je trouve apres tout, que l'amour n'eſt autre choſe, que la ſoif de cette jouyſance en un ſujet deſire; ni Venus autre choſe, que le plaiſir a diſcharger ſes vaſes: et conſiderant mainteſois la ridicule titillation de ce plaiſir, les abſurdes mouvemens eſcervelez et eſtourdis, de quoy il agit Zenon et Cratippus; cette rage indiſcrete, ce viſage inflamme de fureur et de cruaute au plus doux effect de l'amour; et puis cette morgue grave, ſevere et extatique en une action ſi folle, qu'on loge pell-mell nos delices et nos ordures enſemble; et que la ſupreme volupte aye du tranſi et du plaintiff, comme la douleur; je crois qu'il eſt vray que l'homme a ete fait par les Dieux pour leur jouet: et c'eſt par mocquerie que nature nous a laiſſe la plus trouble de nos actions le plus communes, pour nous egaler par la, et apparier les fols et les ſages, et nous et les beſtes. Le plus contemplatif, et prudent homme, quand je l'imagine en cette aſſiette, je le tiens pour un affronteur, de faire le prudent et contemplatif. Ce ſont le pieds du paon, qui abbatent ſon orgueil. Nous mangeons bien, et beuvons comme les beſtes; mais ce ne ſont pas actions qui empeſchent*

peſchent les offices de noſtre ame: en celles-la nous harpons notre avantage ſur elle; cette-ci met toute autre penſee ſous le joug; abrutit et abeſtit par ſon imperieuſe authorite toute la theologie et philoſophie qui eſt en Platon; et s'il ne s'en plaint pas: par tout ailleurs vous pouvez garder quelque decence; toutes autres operations ſouffrent des regles d'honeſtete; cette-ci ne ſe peut pas ſeulement imaginer, que vicieuſe ou ridicule. Trouvez y pour voir un proceder ſage et diſcret? Alexandre diſoit, qu'il ſe cognoſcoit principalement mortel par cette action, et par le dormir: le ſommeil ſuffoque et ſupprime les facultates de noſtre ame, la beſoin les abſorbe et diſſippe de meſmes. Certes c'eſt une marque non ſeulement de noſtre corruption originelle, mais auſſi de noſtre vanite et deformite. D'un coſte nature nous y pouſſe, ayant attache a ce deſir, la plus noble, utile et plaiſante de toutes ſes functions; et la nous laiſſe, d'autre part, accuſer et fuir, comme inſolente et diſhonneſte, en rougir et recommander l'abſtinence. Vide Montaigne, liv. 3. chap. 5.

Page 195. line 16. *Makes me diſtruſt the ſymmetry of thoſe heads,* &c.] The inimitable Shakeſpear has the following admirable reflexion in a mind unaffected with the power of muſick.

The man that hath not muſick in his ſoul,
And is not mov'd with concords of ſweet ſounds,
Is fit for treaſons, ſtratagems and ſpoils;
The motions of his ſp'rit are dark as night,
And his affections dull as Erebus;
Let no ſuch man be truſted.

Merchant of Venice, Act V. Scene I.

Page 200. * *And may be inverted on the worſt*, &c.] There is no axiom more certain than this. The fineſt characters have always ſome foible or blot, which are like foils to their good qualities. Even the divine Trajan was accuſed of drunkenneſs, and a propenſity to unnatural luſt. And the worſt are not without ſome good. *Nam laudabilia multa etiam mali faciunt*, ſays Pliny *in panegyr.* So that Horace's *Nemo ſine vitiis naſcitur* is juſt, tho' tranſpoſed.

Page 201. * *The man without a navel*, &c.] The ſcholaſtick divines, who gave too much into uſeleſs niceties in their ſubtile diſquiſitions into the ſtate of the firſt man, conſidering that he was not brought forth of a mother in the ordinary way of generation, therefore concluded that as he had no uſe for a navel, which is the channel by which the *fœtus*, while in the womb, draws

draws nouriſhment from its mother, therefore nature had not furniſhed him with one, as being to him a ſuperfluous organ. Hence our author deſcribes Adam by that ſingularity, intending, by a metonymie, thereby to point out original ſin.

Page 201. † *Nunquam minus ſolus quam cum ſolus.*] This was an expreſſion of Scipio Africanus, recorded by Cicero, *Off. l.* 3. Our author's commentary on it is pretty much the ſame with Epictetus's thought on ſolitude, taken down in note 1. to page 25.

Page 203. * *Limits not my mind,* &c.] *Magna & generoſa res eſt humanus animus: nullos ſibi poni, niſi communes & cum Deo terminos patitur, &c.* Seneca, Ep. 102.

P. 204. * *There is ſurely a piece of divinity in us,* &c.] The ancients conceived very high and exalted notions of the nature and origin of the human ſoul. It was the general opinion that it came directly from God, and was to return to him again. That of its own nature it was pure and perfect, free of all vice, and particularly of the common weakneſſes and paſſions of humanity; and that theſe flowed only from its cloſe alliance to this earthly frame.

Igneus

Igneus eſt ollis vigor & cæleſtis origo
Seminibus: quantum non noxia corpora tardant,
Terrenique hebetant artus, moribundaque membra.
Hinc metuunt cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque; nec auras
Reſpiciunt, clauſæ tenebris & carcere cæco.
Virg. l. 6. v. 730.

Horace calls the ſoul, *Divinæ particula auræ;* and Lucretius gives us the opinion of the Epicureans, *lib.* 2. *v.* 990.

Denique cæloſti ſumus omnes ſemine oriundi.

And Seneca delivers the opinion of his ſect, the Stoics, as follows, *Non eſt ex terreno & gravi concreta corpore: ex illo cæleſti ſpiritu deſcendit.* De conſol. ad Helv. c. 6. And in his 92d Epiſt. *Quod eſt autem cur non exiſtimes in eo divini aliquid exiſtere, qui Dei pars eſt? Totum hoc quo continemur, & unum eſt, & Deus; & ſocii ejus ſumus & membra.*

Page 206. * *In one dream I can compoſe a whole comedy.*] The Doctor muſt have had a very ſingular conſtitution of mind, who, tho' born under the leaden planet, Saturn, and of conſequence of a gloomy natural diſpoſition, could yet in his dreams repreſent the moſt airy conceits, and entertain himſelf with the moſt jocular humours of a comedy. The fancies of moſt men

men are of a quite different turn, as dreams are generally but the confuſed repetition of thoſe ideas which moſt engroſs our waking thoughts, according to Claudian.

Omnia quæ ſenſu volvuntur vota diurno,
Pectore ſopito, reddit amica quies.
Venator defeſſa toro cum membra reponit,
Mens tamen ad ſylvas & ſua luſtra redit.

Page 207. * *Our groſſer memories have ſo little hold of our abſtracted underſtandings*, &c.] and frequently no hold at all. It has long puzzled the ſchoolmen, whether the not retaining the ideas that paſs thro' the mind when aſleep, is not a preſumption that no ideas paſs there at all when we don't remember any, as often we do not; and the ingenious Mr. Locke has thence inferred one of his ſtrongeſt arguments, *that men think not always*: but were it ſo, the definition which the philoſophers give us of the ſoul, that it is a thinking ſubſtance, if it can at any time be diveſted of that faculty, muſt be a very abſurd one.

Page 208. * *I wonder the fancy of Lucan and Seneca did not diſcover it.*] Both of them being condemned by Nero, as a favour, had the choice of the manner of their own deaths given them; and they preferred being bled to death. *Tacit. Annal. lib.* 15. *cap.*

cap. 63 & 70. A kind of death which the ſtoical pride and vanity of Seneca might have induced him to prefer, having thereby an opportunity to diſplay his philoſophical heroiſm in his diſcourſes to his friends at his death, and in ſome ſort to imitate that great man Socrates in his dying moments.

Page 211. * *To conceive ourſelves urinals*, &c.] Thoſe who are ſubject to extreme melancholy and vapours, often entertain ſuch extravagant conceits as the Doctor here mentions; and Pope, in his rape of the lock, has expoſed theſe unnatural fancies in the moſt ridiculous light.

Men prove with child as pow'rful fancy works,
And maids, turn'd bottles, call aloud for corks.

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